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IONIAN TRADE AND COLONIZATION

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This study is an account of the process by which the Ionian Greeks on the western coast of Asia Minor established that economic basis of their society which enabled them to play a major role in Greece before the Persian Wars. The evidence of recent archaeological investigation in the Aegean, Asia Minor, and South Russia is woven into a broad and fully documented synthesis with the historical tradition. The account begins with a discussion of the siting of the major Ionian towns and of their early political and economic organization—the environment of Homer. Then, it broadens to examine relations with Phrygia, Lydia, and the southeastern Mediterranean and to follow the course of Ionian voyaging and colonization in the Aegean, western Mediterranean, and Black Sea. Through this and the intricate complex of trade which resulted, metals, land, and food were obtained to develop the very high level of prosperity achieved by the time of the Persian conquest in the sixth century before Christ. This regional growth of Ionia is related also to the development of early Greece as a whole to demonstrate how its simple agrarian economy was expanded to enable Classical Greece to tap the resources of the Mediterranean littoral.

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THE EARLIEST WORKS OF
ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO*

Part Two

FREDERICK HARTT

III

AMONG the crowded Gothic mosaics depicting scenes from the life of the Virgin (Figs. 36-38) which decorate the vault of the Mascoli Chapel in San Marco,[50] a representation of the Death of the Virgin (Fig. 39), fully Renaissance in its ordered majesty, appears as a startling intrusion. The discovery of Andreino's presence in Venice we owe to Henry Thode, who had before him no other evidence than that of the young Florentine's style, clearly displayed in this mosaic.

In memorable phrases Thode analyzed the nature and derivations of this style. He found the mosaic a work of the loftiest character, almost to be compared with a masterpiece by Masaccio in the solemnity of its mood, the power and impressiveness of its formal language, and the monumentality of its composition. He noted the immediate relation between the triumphal arch that frames the Mascoli composition and the arch of Masaccio's *Trinity*. He pointed out that the apostles (Fig. 39), with their massive drapery, their controlled yet intense gestures, belonged to the same race as the "Christian heroes" of the Brancacci Chapel. He noted the relation of the halos seen in perspective to the thin metallic disks of the Brancacci frescoes, and the resemblance of the background architecture to Masaccio's simple, undecorated houses. The only two masters of the early Quattrocento close enough to Masaccio to be able to conceive such work were, to Thode, Uccello and Castagno. But the very simplicity and austerity of the composition ruled out Uccello, and Castagno was recalled by a number of clear relationships between this mosaic and the frescoes at Sant'Apollonia and elsewhere. Most important of all, Thode found in the apostles of the *Death of the Virgin* (Figs. 42, 44) the powerful damming-back of the emotional life which renders Andrea's figures always so impressive. "In diesen breiten, festknockigen und muskulösen Körpern lebt die Seelenkraft wie in einem Kerker." This spiritual power was liberated only in rare and cramped gestures, seemed to know no words. Castagno made no attempt, as Masaccio would have done, to set the figures in an externally dramatic relationship: the connection between them is purely inward. Castagno did not lose himself in intricate perspective constructions but sought, through control of the source of lighting, to produce (as in the *Last Supper* at Sant'Apollonia) some of the most surprising illusions of three-dimensional existence in the entire Italian Renaissance.

The foregoing lines are an undeservedly brief summary of Thode's basic contentions, which no subsequent analysis of the *Death of the Virgin* has shaken. But his observations can perhaps be brought into somewhat more detailed focus, utilizing photographs not available in his day. I propose to demonstrate that the mosaic is not by Mantegna (the only respectable counterattribution brought forward); that it was designed by a Florentine master, and that that master was Andrea del Castagno. I regret only that such an array of evidence should be necessary to prove the correctness of a discovery already amply justified in all essentials two generations ago.

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50. For a review of opinions on the Mascoli Chapel, see the Appendix.

The ascription to Mantegna rests largely on the fact that the great Paduan artist actually painted a similar subject in a small picture now in the Prado (Fig. 40), of which the missing upper portion, showing Christ holding the soul of the Virgin in his hand, was discovered by Longhi in a private collection at Ferrara.[51] In my opinion this is a strong argument *against* the attribution of the Mascoli mosaic to Mantegna. The similarities between the Prado picture and the Mascoli mosaic are just sufficient to make Mantegna's panel seem a kind of North Italian commentary on an imported invention.

The most striking discrepancy between the two paintings is the change in proportion. Mantegna has endowed his version with the soaring verticality we find in his *Assumption* in the Ovetari Chapel, or the *Ascension* in the Uffizi triptych. Nowhere in Mantegna is there an enframing architecture of the weight and monumentality of the arch in the Mascoli mosaic. In fact, Mantegna converts the triumphal arch of the mosaic into a graceful interior culminating in a mysterious succession of arches through which floats the airy mandorla.[52] In the mosaic the mandorla, like the barrel vault, is solid, at once attached to and disrupting the scheme of the architecture. Its point is fixed with illogical precision at the inner crown of the arch.[53] The great toe of Christ's left foot occupies the exact position of the keystone (Fig. 41), the cloud on which he is seated bisects the frieze, and the upper cloud is almost on a line with the top of the balustrade.

In the mosaic the two groups of apostles are read together with the piers of the arch, and the Virgin's bier is exactly centered. Mantegna's panel replaces such monumental gravity with a new domestic charm. An actual ceremony is taking place in a specific interior. As in the Mascoli mosaic St. Peter intones the office, but the other apostles are now also given functions: St. John holds the martyr's palm, another apostle swings a censer, another holds the instruments of the viaticum, the rest hold candles as they chant. Instead of exhibiting the Virgin to the spectator in the majesty of death, Mantegna places her bier upstage, allowing it to be overlapped and partly hidden by the apostles. Instead of the architectural perspective of the mosaic, we look through a window out over the somnolent lakes, covered bridges, and dreamy skies of Mantua, precisely as seen from the Castello di San Giorgio.[54] Mantegna's north Italian realism does not permit such closed, abstract vistas as those in the mosaic (Fig. 39),—austere houses, arcades and pavements, undisturbed by a human presence, uncluttered by a trace of human activity. The background architecture of the Eremitani frescoes, however rationally constructed and clearly organized, still derives from the common texture of daily experience. Buildings are cracked by time and rough usage; flowers grow

51. Roberto Longhi, "Risarcimento di un Mantegna," *Pan*, 1934, pp. 503ff. For a more convenient illustration, cf. Fiocco, *Mantegna*, pls. 67-68.

52. An ironic demonstration of the impossibility of attributing both works to the same master is to be found in the fact that A. Venturi, the first to advance the ascription of the Mascoli mosaic to Mantegna, in 1924 (*L'Arte*, XXVII, pp. 139ff.) attributed the Prado picture—otherwise universally accepted as Mantegna—to Giovanni Bellini!

53. Probably in reference to the Resurrection of Christ, symbolized in most editions of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* by a keystone, in reference to Psalm 118:22, "Lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli." A representation of Christ was actually included on the keystone of many Gothic vaults; cf. Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, New York, 1956, p. 135, citing Charles Seymour, Jr., *Notre Dame of Noyon in the Twelfth Century*, New Haven, 1939, fig. 6.

54. Mrs. Tietze (*op.cit.*, p. 187) cited Hendy's opinion that the view represented the Ponte de' Molini at the other side of Mantua, and advanced her own identification with a dam between the "gate of Pusterla and Ceresea" (*sic*). She apparently referred to the Porta Pusterla and the Porta Cerese, although how these two gates could be united by a dam is unclear, since

they were on the same side of the waterway which then separated the city of Mantua from the island of the Te. I wonder if she did not have in mind the dyke along the Te built in 1458, and described in the chronicle of Schivenoglia, "del mese di Decembre 1458 in tri o quattro dí fu alzato il Te che va da una porta all' altra di Cerese. Era tal che ghera 3500 lavoranti." (Cf. Vasco Restori, *Mantova e dintorni*, Mantua, 1937, p. 487.)

Actually Mantegna's view corresponds closely to the descriptions of the Ponte San Giorgio before the covering was removed and the bridge rebuilt after the damage caused in the siege of 1630. Bertazzolo's account of about 1600 (Restori, *op.cit.*, p. 469) reads in part, "Egli è delle notevoli fabbriche al mondo, essendo dal fondo del lago fino al piano dove si cammina alto braccia 28, ed il coperto alto braccia 12, che fanno in tutto braccia 40 di altezza, e di lunghezza poi fino a duemila braccia. Ha nel mezzo una torre fondata sugli stessi volti del ponte, accomodate per metervi le sue porte, castelli e saracinesche, per impedire il passo al nemico. . . ." Mantegna shows the bridge with its roof, the tower in the middle complete with the lodgings for the soldiers, and also the tower on the other side as seen in Restori's photograph (*op.cit.*, ills. opp. p. 466). The only value of this lengthy demonstration is to give a further indication of Mantegna's meticulous realism.

in window boxes; wineshops display their wares and utensils; heads pop out of windows; washing flutters on the line. Nor does Mantegna's classic architecture indulge in violent contrasts of form and material. He is perhaps still too closely related to the Byzantine tradition to see veined marble paneling as anything more than a soft, variegated fabric veiling the architectural masses in the interests of coloristic unity. And his chiseled ornamentation is based on a delicate, even learned study of Roman originals. Nowhere in his production is there to be found a single scrap of ornament like that which fills the frieze over the arch (Fig. 50), intensely Tuscan, still mediaeval, and strongly reminiscent of the great rinceaux which flourish around the Porta della Mandorla.[55]

The Mascoli figures move or stand with a resiliency wholly absent from those of the brittle, almost metallic Mantegna. Furthermore Mantegna's drapery is generally separated into two layers, an inner core fairly adherent to the main masses of the figure, and an outer network of folds which cross in broad and rich ornamental patterns, conforming very slightly to the actual shapes created by hanging cloth. The awesome Christ in the mandorla (Fig. 41) must have been repugnant to the sensitive Mantegna, who mutes the contrast in scale between the Savior and the soul he holds; the Mascoli artist deliberately underlines such contrasts. Mantegna never permits the tiny soul of the Virgin to look upward at her gigantic Son: both gaze quietly outward. In the mosaic the Virgin kneels in one-quarter view on a cloth, looking up to the Brobdingnagian immensity of Christ, who holds her stiff-fingered as if afraid to crush her by some untoward movement.

Thode has already shown that the concept of the great barrel vault flanked by Corinthian columns and containing medallions in the spandrels is derived from Masaccio's *Trinity*. So is the notion of placing the side figures on a kind of apron so that they stand in front of the bases of the pilasters. The architectural formulation had, of course, appeared before Masaccio in somewhat different shape in the niche by Donatello and Michelozzo for the *St. Louis of Toulouse* at Orsanmichele. The author of the Mascoli mosaic knew these Florentine inventions. He was familiar with new developments in Florentine perspective and composition after the death of Masaccio, developments to be associated with the completion of Alberti's treatise on painting in 1435. Such rapidly receding, closed architectural perspectives are present in Donatello's immense stucco medallions for the sacristy of San Lorenzo. Similar depopulated, abstract vistas of buildings form many of the backgrounds in Fra Angelico's early predellas.[56] A deep architectural perspective is vividly present in one of the principal altarpieces completed around the time Andreino must have left Florence, Filippo Lippi's *Annunciation* in San Lorenzo, which also deploys massive, sculptural figures on a limited foreground stage. Both works extend the space forward toward the observer in typical Florentine fashion, Filippo's altarpiece by means of a crystal vase set in an ingeniously carved recess in one of the steps at the right, the mosaic by the device of a single tall candle far downstage, in fact almost at the cornice of the marble paneling of the chapel.

The two overwhelmingly Florentine apostles at the left (Fig. 39) recall the grave figures of Orsanmichele, in particular Donatello's *St. Mark*, and the Virgin lies on her bier, displaying face, hands and feet in a manner immediately reminiscent of Donatello's tomb of John XXIII. The designer of the drapery shows a thoroughly Florentine interest in the behavior of heavy woolen cloth. And he has learned from the Cathedral campanile, from Orsanmichele, and from the Brancacci Chapel, he keeps all the drapery masses flowing together in a unified envelope to enhance the natural dignity of the figure and increase its apparent bulk. It is difficult to imagine that an artist so intimately associated with the achievements of the early Florentine Renaissance could be any but a Florentine. If a last proof were lacking it might be found in the geometrical severity of

55. Oddly enough, the latest attempt to give the mosaic to Mantegna (Salmi, *Paolo Uccello*, p. 169) adduces as its sole (and supposedly overwhelming) proof a detail of this very passage of architecture.

56. As for example, Florence, San Marco, predellas of Linaiuoli *Madonna*; Cortona, Museo Diocesano, *Raising of Napoleone Orsini*; Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana, *Miracle of St. Nicholas of Bari*.

the composition itself—a triangle overlapping a square—typical of Florentine design since the days of Giotto.

We need not content ourselves with generic resemblances to Florentine art, nor even with those specific links to Castagno's style already adduced by Thode. The *Death of the Virgin* contains a number of remarkable parallels with Andrea's other works. The face of the Christ, for example (Fig. 47), developed directly from the Jeremiah at San Tarasio (Part I, Fig. 18), is the same face later used for the sad Christ of the *Last Supper* (Fig. 46), who gazes downward at the beloved disciple. The hair in the frescoed Christ grows a little farther over the forehead, but the construction of the arching brow and long nose is identical, as is also the way the moustache fits below the nose, the twist of the forked beard, the movement of the beard along the jaw, and even the curl of the hair upon the shoulders behind the neck. And beyond all these resemblances in construction, the same character is given to the Christ—plain, peasant-like, rough-hewn yet surprisingly gentle.[57]

The pose, the mood, and some of the now-ample, now-broken drapery rhythms of the elderly apostle (probably St. Mark) to the right of St. John in the mosaic (Fig. 44) relate strongly to those of the grieving Mary in the Angeli *Crucifixion* (Part I, Fig. 34). The same mediaeval gesture of hand to face, appearing in both figures, was used later by Andrea for his St. Simon in the *Last Supper* at Sant'Apollonia (Fig. 46). Although the Mascoli apostle is older, there is a strong resemblance to the Simon in the shape of the nose, the way in which the brows are knitted, the twist of the moustache away from the nose, and the soft sweep of the beard revealing the curve of the chin. Behind the old head Castagno has utilized the veined marble for expressive purposes, as in the marvelous panel in Sant' Apollonia behind the central group of Christ and John, Judas and Peter. In the mosaic this veining has almost the effect of a sustained tremolo from the strings during a tense scene in opera.

There is a virtual portrait resemblance between the head of St. John in the Mascoli mosaic (Fig. 42) and the St. John in the second *Crucifixion* Castagno painted for Santa Maria degli Angeli (Fig. 43), transferred in the nineteenth century to San Matteo, and thence to Sant' Apollonia. Both have the same prominent, bony frame around the eye socket, the same shaggy curls hanging between temple and ear, the same construction of the ear, the same slightly turned-up nose, sharp and pursed lips, small chin, heavy cheekbone, square, protruding corner to the jaw, powerful, corded neck. The same model must have been used for St. John in both works.[58]

The drapery structure of the two apostles at the left of the *Death of the Virgin*, as well as the Christ in his mandorla (Figs. 39 and 41), shows no essential differences from the broad, Donatellesque drapery masses of the standing figures in the San Tarasio vault. The cloak of the second apostle from the left in the mosaic, for example, breaks into surface pouches strikingly like those in the cloak of the St. Matthew at San Tarasio and falls back on his arm in long, tubular folds that are almost identical in shape and rhythmic character (Part I, Fig. 9). If anything the figures in the mosaic display an increased maturity and dignity of bearing, however, well on the way to the seated apostles of the *Last Supper*. This new nobility is accompanied by a far more sustained, less impulsive formal control. It may be because we have not as yet seen so ambitious a narrative subject from the hand of Castagno, but here he has certainly achieved a degree of plastic unity beyond anything at San Tarasio, a unity only hinted at in the relatively simple and static early *Crucifixion*. This unity is all-pervasive, originating in the absorption of the figures by the forces of the elemental architecture, and extending to the treatment of every detail of figure and drapery

57. No other representations of Christ by Castagno before the Crucifixion are preserved.

58. This is one of the many factors in the second Angeli *Crucifixion* which not only connect the Mascoli *Death of the Virgin* with Castagno, but point to an early date for the *Crucifixion*, placed far too late by many scholars, possibly due to superficial resemblance to the late work at the Santissima Annunziata. Cf., for example, Salmi, *Paolo Uccello*, pp. 177–178; Horster, "Castagnos florentiner Fresken," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XVII, 1955, p. 119.

36. Michele Giambono, *Birth of the Virgin* and *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*
Venice, San Marco, Mascoli Chapel (photo: Alinari)

37. Michele Giambono, *Visitation*. Venice, San Marco, Mascoli Chapel (photo: Alinari)

38. *Death of the Virgin*, detail, here attributed to
Michele Giambono (photo: Böhm)

39. *Death of the Virgin*, here attributed to Andrea del Castagno, with six figures by Michele Giambono
Venice, San Marco, Mascoli Chapel (photo: Alinari)

40. Andrea Mantegna, *Death of the Virgin*. Madrid, Prado
(photo: Anderson)

41. Christ (detail from Fig. 39)

42. St. John (detail from Fig. 39)
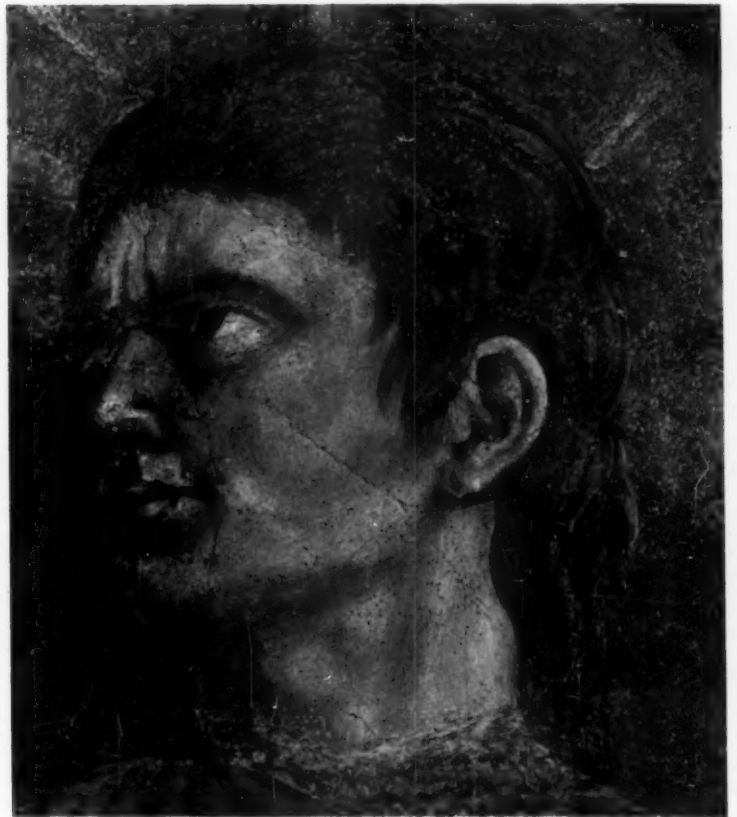
43. Andrea del Castagno, St. John (detail from *Crucifixion*). Florence,
Museo Castagno, Sant'Apollonia

44. Apostle (detail from Fig. 39)
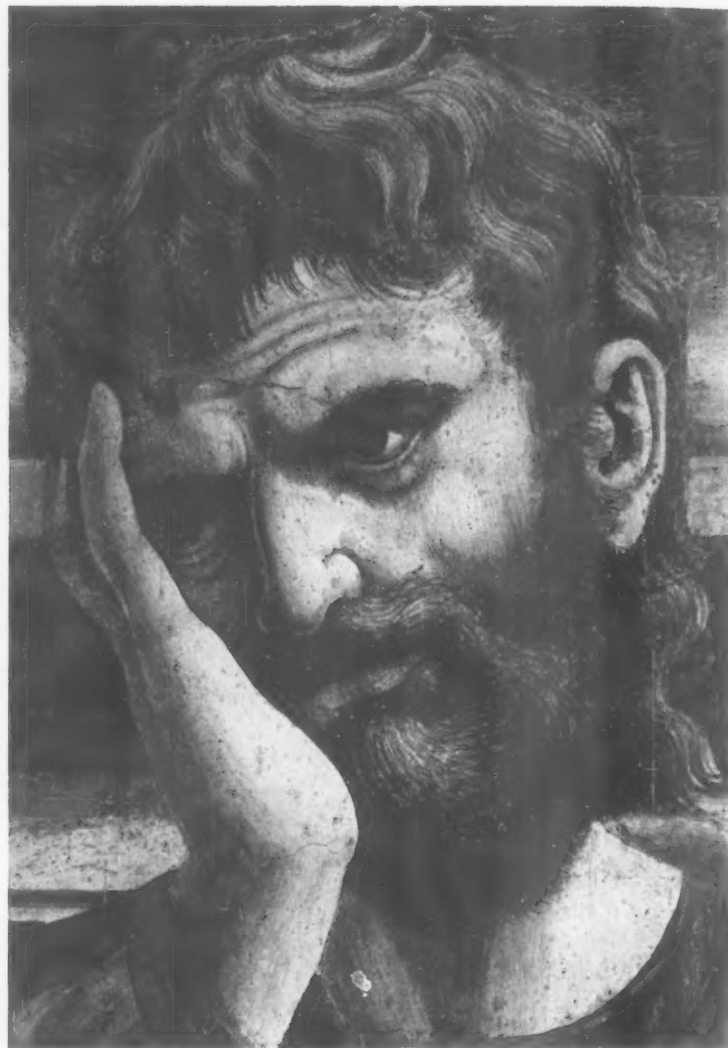
45. Andrea del Castagno, St. Simon (from *Last Supper*)
Florence, Sant'Apollonia

46. Andrea del Castagno, Christ (from *Last Supper*)
Florence, Sant'Apollonia

47. Christ (from Fig. 39)

48. Andrea del Castagno, St. Thaddeus
(from *Last Supper*)

49. Andrea del Castagno, Angel (from Passion Scenes)
Florence, Sant'Apollonia

50-52. Details of Fig. 39

53-54. St. Theodore (?), here attributed to Andrea del Castagno
Venice, San Marco, ex-church of San Teodoro (photos: Böhm)

modeling. Andrea must have delighted in the role played by mosaic tesserae as cubic elements in the establishment of a formal harmony, for he exploits their possibilities in this respect so well as to suggest that he made a more than cursory study of the medium, and while still in Venice maintained the closest relationship with the actual mosaicist. The tesserae assume the function formerly exercised by the planes in the construction of details of anatomy or drapery, and since they are almost uniform in size and shape, and never at any point relax their continuous tension all over the surface, they adapt themselves admirably to the function of notes in Castagno's unrelenting polyphonic structure. They enable him to eliminate ruthlessly all inessentials of surface, and concentrate on the mechanical beauty of the relation between bones and muscles, tendons, veins, curling locks of hair deployed as radiations streaming from the crown of the head around the cranium and bursting into rapid eddies on collision with the bony or muscular masses of face and neck. By their aid he can carve drapery folds with a new severity and grandeur, describe their progress over underlying cylindrical limbs, and establish the transition from light to dark areas in alternating light and dark cubes as if playing chess. Best of all, he can send the great halos into unexampled relief by an exact control of shapes and sizes.

The result is a style in which the obsessive formal precision of the early *Crucifixion* and the sometimes disorderly turbulence of the San Tarasio frescoes are fused, and in this fusion both possibilities in Andrea's art are raised to a higher plane. The composition is by no means less explosive than that of the San Tarasio apse,—only that its multifarious energies are sternly compressed toward a single central area where the mandorla is launched with a force which carries to contemporary eyes a disconcerting suggestion of Cape Canaveral. In this tremendous style we sense for the first time in the young artist's work the kind of total control of forms and spaces, figures and gestures, that renders the *Last Supper* at Sant'Apollonia so compelling. Before this stage can be fully achieved, Andrea will have to eliminate still more decorative detail, refine still further the relation between mass and surface, simplify still more the inner structure of his forms. But at San Marco he is not far away from maturity.

None of Castagno's surviving works shows any architectural vista for exact comparison with the impressive street which opens up behind the Virgin's bier.[59] Nonetheless certain clearly Castagnesque elements are proclaimed. First of all, as Thode indicated, the entire architectural frame detaches itself from the other mosaics in the chapel to form, as in the *Last Supper*, and as foreseen in the early Crucifixion, a free-standing masonry block, so revealed in a strong cross-light as to produce what amounts almost to an hallucination of actual mass and actual depth, an effect which Castagno was to carry almost beyond the reasonable possibilities of mural painting in the illusionistic decorations for the loggia of the Villa Pandolfini at Legnaia. Then, aside from the spectacular expressionistic use of veined marble paneling, one can point to other devices characteristic of Andrea's handling of architecture. In the great entablature, the architrave is missing, as always in Castagno, so that the frieze rests directly upon a molding. As in the first Angeli *Crucifixion*, this molding partly overlaps the center of the concave abacus, to produce an interplay of convex and flat surfaces, absent, let us say, from Masaccio's *Trinity*. Although the rich, Gothic ornamentation of the frieze does not recur in any preserved work by Castagno, its function, to break up the frieze and thereby produce a disturbing emptiness in place of expected finality, reappears again and again, especially at Legnaia. The preference for bare wall surfaces and unrelieved openings reappears in the architectural glimpses in the background of the St. Julian, very similarly modeled in light. The crowning

59. However Vasari describes such a perspective in the background of Andrea's lost *Flagellation* for the cloister of Santa Croce: ". . . una loggia con colonne in prospettiva con crociere di volte a liste diminuite, e le pareti commesse a mandorle . . ." (*op.cit.*, II, p. 672). There was also a magnificent architectural perspective in the destroyed *Annunciation* Castagno painted at Sant' Egidio: "Vi si vede anco tirato in prospettiva, in mezzo d'una piazza un tempio a otto facce, isolato, e pieno di pilastri e nicchie, e nella facciata dinanzi benissimo adornato di figure finte di marmo; e intorno alla piazza è una varietà di bellissimi casamenti . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 676).

balustrade, revealed against the gold background as against open sky, has a function similar to that of the illusionistic drawing and modeling of the roof of the building in the *Last Supper* in the three-dimensional projection of the block and its contained cube of space.

One should not leave the architecture of the *Death of the Virgin* without pointing out that Andrea has made one tremendous change in the arched enframement suggested by Donatello and Masaccio. At both Orsanmichele and Santa Maria Novella the arch encloses a small space, a niche or at most a chapel. The arch of our mosaic leads us like a city gate into a street lined with buildings and intersected by other streets. In this respect it suggests at once the so-called Arch of Augustus at Rimini, a city which Castagno may well have visited (shall we say, on his way from Ravenna?). Furthermore he has substituted blank jambs for the smaller Ionic order of the Florentine examples, as in the gate at Rimini, and again as in that arch he has broken the entablature so that the columnar elements (still pilasters) advance from the mass of the arch. The spectacular use of bust portraits may well have been suggested by the Arch of Augustus, although Andrea has transferred them from spandrels to frieze, and the crowning balustrade may reflect the battlements added in the Middle Ages to the Arch of Augustus. A final reinforcement of this notion may perhaps be found in the fact that, as in the gate at Rimini, Andrea uses a triple row of coffering in depth. The choice of a triumphal arch may have had an iconographic significance for the Virgin's death and reception in heaven by her divine Son is for the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance her ultimate triumph, only gradually and sporadically to be replaced by the Assumption, sometimes, as in Taddeo di Bartolo's frescoes in the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, shown parallel to it.

The frieze displays proud bust portraits in medallions (Figs. 51-52), already in the spirit of the *Famous Men and Women*, the *Niccolò da Tolentino*, and the *Male Portrait* drawing in the Uffizi.[60] The grand male profile in particular, possibly derived from a Roman coin, is overpoweringly Castagnesque. The others show details of modeling, especially of nose and mouth, common in Andrea's work. Mystifying devices abound—especially in the case of the busts at the extremes, which are the same head, with the direction reversed but the light unchanged, so as to bring out a different aspect. Most interesting of all, the simulated marble background behind the vine scrolls, and the very shadows in these medallions, alternate between red and green just as in the marble backgrounds of the San Tarasio frescoes.[61] And throughout the mosaic the color schemes of the drapery are characteristically Castagnesque, close to those of the first Angeli *Crucifixion*, particularly in regard to the beautiful blue robes of the old apostle, second from the left, and of the recumbent Virgin,[62] the rose cloak of St. John, the deep green of St. Peter, and the blue lights and rusty shadows of the aged apostle to his left.

Until now I have omitted mention of the six still Gothic apostles at the right (Fig. 38), whose squirming drapery forms and garrulous attitudes disturb the gravity of the scene. Their style is so exactly that of the figures in the *Birth of the Virgin* and the *Presentation* on the opposite side of the Mascoli vault as to leave little doubt that they were designed by Giambono. As for the tiny scroll floating below them, bearing the word "fecit" in Gothic script, I can only interpret it as an abbreviated signature by Giambono, meant to call attention to the fact that he, who signed the *Birth* and *Presentation* "Michael Giambono venetus fecit," added these six figures.

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60. This great drawing, generally given to Paolo Uccello, I have recently attributed to Castagno; cf. Hartt, "A New Attribution for a Famous Drawing," *Art Quarterly*, 1956, pp. 162-173. The stylistic resemblance of the Uffizi profile to the mosaic medallion is striking.

61. The red-and-green alternation of the frieze is calculated and maintained with precision, so that the series begins with red and ends with green, so that each red medallion background is adjacent to a green vine-scroll background or vice versa, and so that each red element has an exact counterpart on the opposite side of the arch. To make this alternation come out even, it was necessary to split backgrounds of each of the major vine-scrolls equally between red and green.

62. The varicolored architecture strongly suggests the startling architectural coloring of Fra Angelico's San Marco *Deposition* and Vatican predellas and of Filippo's San Lorenzo *Annunciation*. The arcade at the left is a pale rose, the house gray with a rose door and a rose string-course; the building at the end is a grayish lavender, and the structure at the right is pale gray in the light and rose in the shadows.

Andreino must have left Venice for Florence not later than the early winter of 1443 (perhaps even earlier), for in February of 1444 he was paid for designing a stained glass window in one of the eight oculi of the dome of the Cathedral of Florence, a commission which placed his designs in permanent public competition with those of Donatello, Ghiberti, and Paolo Uccello.[63] This invitation, of the utmost importance for a youthful artist, may explain his having left the Mascoli mosaic unfinished. Perhaps Castagno promised to return and complete the whole chapel. But as we know he was given other and extensive commissions during the succeeding years, and there is no record that he ever returned to Venice.

I have reserved for this point a discussion of the chronological relation between the *Death of the Virgin* and the other mosaics in the Mascoli Chapel, in the belief that the most likely solution of the problem is one which has not thus far been proposed: i.e., that Giambono was not originally commissioned to work in the chapel either before or with Castagno, but rather that he was called in to complete the cycle barely begun by the young Florentine, and then only after it became evident that Andrea would never return. A number of factors point toward this explanation. First of all, the chapel is not large enough nor the problems complex enough to account for the six or more years elapsing between Andrea's departure in 1443 and the celebrated burglary whose records disclose to us that in 1449 the mosaics were still in progress.[64] Second, Andrea, who seems to have insisted on meticulous fidelity in the execution of his designs and colors by the mosaic workmen, apparently left no cartoon for the six figures at the right. That Giambono would have been permitted to ignore existing drawings by Andrea for a single, crucial section of an otherwise completed composition is possible but unlikely. More probably Andrea either painted the cartoon piecemeal from his original sketch and had not yet done that piece at the time of his departure, or he took it with him, or the unexecuted section was lost or destroyed. Third, certain architectural elements from the *Death of the Virgin* were purloined by Giambono, and appear rather strangely in the Gothic-Byzantine gallamaufrey which overflows the opposite side of the vault (Fig. 36). The great ring with the knob in the middle, so impressive on the backs of Ghiberti's doors, and in Uccello's frescoes at San Miniato, and looming so grandly in the spandrels of Castagno's arch (Fig. 39), is ludicrously inappropriate to the postament of Giambono's Temple, as are the rectangular doors and windows here and there in the neighboring dwelling of Joachim and Anna, contrasting in their severity with the pullulating Gothic detail.

As for the architecture of the *Visitation* (Fig. 37), I cannot accept explanations as complex as some which have been adduced.[65] The figures are clearly by Giambono. The architecture is possibly his also, in a rather unsuccessful attempt to harmonize with the neighboring *Death of the Virgin*. It is trivial, timid architecture, of which the elements derive from Castagno, but in how misunderstood a form! The majestic effect of the great arch is broken up by three crowning pediments; the barrel-vault gives way to a shallow diaphragm arch; a second story is introduced, with doubled windows supported by the incredible device of coupled colonnettes at the center of each pair and jambs at the outsides; the shapes in the veined marble are tiny, repetitive and weak; the shell-within-a-shell in the spandrels is indecipherable; the flattened capitals show no understanding of Florentine formal relations; the heads in the medallions are no longer heroes but fat-faced children. The figures, moreover, cannot assert themselves even against architecture as weak as this,

63. Cf. Poggi, *Il Duomo di Firenze*, Berlin, 1905, p. 145, doc. 762; G. Marchini, *Italian Stained Glass Windows*, New York, 1956, figs. 42, 46-64.

64. Cf. Appendix.

65. Longhi has twice predicated the intervention of Paolo Uccello ("Lettere pittoriche," in *Vita artistica*, I, 1926, pp. 129-130; "Fatti di Masolino e di Masaccio," *Critica d'Arte*, XXV-VI, 1940, p. 179), and Pudelko went even further and ascribed to

Uccello the cartoons for the mosaics on the opposite side of the vault as well ("The Early Works of Paolo Uccello," ART BULLETIN, XVI, 1934, pp. 253-254). Pope-Hennessy (*Paolo Uccello*, London, 1950, p. 157) doubts Uccello's participation at any point. Fiocco, *Venezia* (I, 1919, pp. 217-233) advances the notion that Jacopo Bellini redesigned the upper part of the architecture of the *Visitation* (cf. Appendix).

but shrink into its crevices. Nor has Giambono been able to resist the temptation to insert potted plants, bottles, baskets, birds, a nice young lady looking out the window, and a monkey scratching for fleas.

IV

Andrea del Castagno did leave in Venice another example of the breadth and majesty of his conceptions, though less scrupulously executed than the *Death of the Virgin*. The mosaic representing St. Theodore (Figs. 53 and 54) in the lunette over the entrance to the former church of San Teodoro, now the canons' sacristy at San Marco, was first attributed to him by Carlo Gamba,[66] who, by no means incidentally, was one of the few scholars to understand and to defend Thode's attribution of the *Death of the Virgin* mosaic to Castagno. Gamba found in the head of the warrior saint a certain resemblance to the beardless Christ in the St. Julian fresco at the Santissima Annunziata, spoke of St. Theodore as a "fratello ingentilito" of Pippo Spano, and pointed out the strong similarity in the treatment of the flying cloak to the fluttering folds behind the Widener *David*, now in the National Gallery at Washington. Not only the structure of the head but its downward glance and its imagined distance above the eye relate it even more strongly, in my opinion, to the beautiful St. Thaddeus in the *Last Supper* (Fig. 48). The proportions of the firm, round, strong-jawed face are remarkably like, as is the structure of the eye socket, the curve of the brows, the isolation of the convex shape of the upper lids from the surrounding socket by means of a sharp wrinkle, the high bridge of the nose, the strong, short, curling upper lip. Even the way the hair clusters about the forehead and along the cheekbone is similar in both.

But what gives the mosaic its unusual and haunting quality—an unexpected blend of savage action and weary contemplation—is the abridgement of the accessories, the background, and even the two principal figures. The hero is shown to a point only just below the waist. The spectator looks upward to the foreshortened, strongly illuminated, sculptural right arm holding the lance and into the curiously ravaged young face, set forth grandly against the sky by the circular sweep of the cloak over the armored torso and the left shoulder. The struggle is over; only the squirming tail of the dragon, and the dying head with the broken point of the lance in its mouth, still emerge from the void at left and right as witnesses to the battle,—and only the open mouth of the saint with his glittering teeth betrays the tension of combat. He has put on the whole armor of the spirit; he plants triumphantly his spear and shield; he stands against the sky and the distant clouds.

66. Carlo Gamba, "Un'opera ignota di Andrea del Castagno," *Dedalo*, Anno IV, I, 1923-1924, p. 180. Gamba's keen analysis of the San Teodoro mosaic was at once contested by Fiocco (*L'Arte di Andrea Mantegna*, Bologna, 1926, p. 91), who identified the technique of the mosaic with that of Pietro Barbetta, nephew of the Maestro Silvestro who signed in 1458 a mosaic representing St. Anthony Abbott in the soffit of an arch in the right aisle of San Marco. Fiocco claimed—it is far from clear on the basis of what evidence—that the portal came from Santa Maria Nuova, the elaborate triumph of the Lombardo family. Van Marle (*op.cit.*, X, p. 342) and Richter (*Art in America*, XXIX, 1941, p. 194, and *Andrea del Castagno*, p. 10) accepted the lunette as by Castagno; Berenson (*op.cit.*, p. 119), as designed by him; Salmi (*Paolo Uccello*, pp. 169-170), as only inspired by his art. Mrs. Kennedy (*op.cit.*, p. 206) is alone in claiming the work for Mantegna. Frau Horster is silent on the subject.

The identification of the saint, the provenance of the lunette, and the reasons for its being embedded in the new San Teodoro reconstructed toward the end of the Quattrocento by Giorgio Spavento, remain unsolved problems. Both St. George and St. Theodore can be represented as youthful warriors combating dragons and carrying red-cross shields; no element in our mosaic is sufficient to identify its subject securely one way or

the other. But that St. Theodore, not St. George, was meant is suggested by the fact that the old basilica of San Teodoro formerly rose just to the north of the present San Marco, and prior to its demolition was partially incorporated in the larger church. From the elaborate account by Raffaele Cattaneo (*La Basilica di San Marco in Venezia illustrata nella storia e nell'-arte da scrittori veneziani sotto la direzione di Camillo Boito*, II, Venice, 1888, pp. 111-112) we glean: neither the date nor the style of San Teodoro can be accurately determined; in 1887 a portion of the outer wall of San Teodoro, blackened by exposure, was discovered, incorporated in the wall between the present chapel of Sant' Isidoro and the church of San Marco; the inner face of this wall looks into the chapel of Sant' Isidoro, built in 1354-1355 by Doge Andrea Dandolo. Cattaneo concludes that the chapel of Sant' Isidoro corresponds in width to the south side-aisle of San Teodoro. Although Cattaneo assumes that San Teodoro was demolished for the new San Marco in 1073, it would seem more likely that the new church merely joined onto the pre-existent structure, possibly still standing in 1354 when the chapel of Sant' Isidoro went up. If so, then perhaps it was for this building that the lunette mosaic was made. This is of course pure conjecture on my part.

It is as if the battle had been an inward one, against the dragons of the mind whose tattered fragments vanish with the morning,—yet leave their traces on the most heroic countenance. In this translation of the Christian Psychomachia from the language of traditional symbols into that of individual experience Castagno reveals himself as a full exponent of the Renaissance. Only in Florence—and more subtly if less dramatically, in Flanders—had this new language as yet been understood. Despite the pomp and grandeur of the *Death of the Virgin*, it is the *St. Theodore* who prepares the way for the series of monumental compositions of the middle and late 1440's in Florence, in which Castagno sets forth the inner drama of the soul so nobly clothed by the rude dignity of the body, and so austerely framed by the spare, tense forms to which Florentine minds had refined the rich repertory of classic architecture. In content the *St. Theodore*, more than the *Death of the Virgin*, is the immediate precursor of the prophetic apostles of the *Last Supper*, and of the profound, concentrated, bitter, potential violence of the *Male Portrait* at Washington.

Alas, Castagno was not able to profit in the San Teodoro mosaic by the services of as sensitive a mosaicist as the executant he used in the Mascoli Chapel. The hands in particular are clumsily treated, and the anatomical structure of the Roman armor wholly misunderstood. But Castagno's intense light and strong projection are fully evident, particularly in the modeling of the right arm and the intricate structure of the great cloak. And the color seems convincing. Tan clouds drift across a sky which is almost white at the horizon, pale blue at the zenith. The saint wears a cuirass of soft green shaded in darker green, with shoulder pieces of a strong blue edged in gold, with pale blue lights and dark blue shadows, containing occasional reflections of soft blue light. The rose cloak with deep red shadows reminds one of the cloak of St. John in the *Death of the Virgin*. The gold scale-mail of the sleeves is relieved by gray for the steel pieces at the elbows, and gray-violet shadows enrich the creamy whites, grays and tans of the red-cross shield. The dragon is resplendent with a green tail touched with gold and lighted with blue, with darker blue shadows; his tan head, modeled with blue, darts a terrible red tongue. The exhaustion of the saint's face is conveyed by an extraordinary pale green tonality in the flesh, with tan shadows, and unexpectedly black eyebrows. The tan hair is shadowed with darker tan. Probably Andrea provided the mosaicist with a cartoon, painted rather rapidly, in the manner of the angel heads in the upper sections of the badly damaged Passion frescoes at Sant'Apollonia (Fig. 49), whose tumbled hair resembles strongly the curly locks of the St. Theodore, indicated in broad masses, each striated by only one or two shadows.

The four early works preserved to us doubtless represent in a most fragmentary and ill-distributed sense the youthful production of Castagno; yet they afford some insight into the formation of his style. As we look from the intricate statements at San Tarasio to the grandeur of the *Death of the Virgin* and then to the concentrated simplicity of the *St. Theodore* with its vast powers of suggestion, it is as if the temporary isolation from Florentine art amid the Byzantine and Gothic splendors of Venice had enabled Andrea to concentrate and refine the knowledge he had absorbed in Florence from so many sources. He had left Florence a gifted but still youthful painter, uncoordinated and immature. He returned there the master of the most powerful and moving pictorial style of the 1440's, an instrument fully the equal of sculpture in the grand statement of form, sometimes its superior in the expression of the inner life of the soul.

He seems not to have wanted to study the visual implications suggested by sculpture, as Masaccio did, but rather to try to beat sculpture at its own game. For he begins not with the visual impulse but with the violent plastic urge, "una voglia si spasimata!" The perspectives that break the walls, the putti that kick through the picture plane, are vivid symbols of his deep impatience with the limitations of painting. He is perhaps the first artist of the Renaissance to set statue-hard human bodies in overpoweringly real space, and in many respects lines lead from Andrea to Piero della Francesca, to Signorelli, to the Paduans and the Ferrarese. But unlike the unapproachable Piero,

Andrea is not absorbed in contemplation of ideal, durable essences, nor is his world Piero's realm of ultimate, monistic reality. His desperate desire for three-dimensional form is rather the projection of the violence of his own personality, and the existence he sets before us is torn by duality and struggle. Every personality is haunted by conflicting states, every color scheme by dissonance, every composition is maintained by athletic balance of forces that might too easily tear it apart. Perspective itself is to Andrea a kind of assault upon the wall. His tragic dualism resolves into a paradoxical harmony only through the unity of passion, and through the muscular integrity of his defiant figures,—in how strange a contrast to the ideal mid-Quattrocento unity of perfect logic. But this countercurrent which we have seen developing in the age of Alberti will have its own significance for the great masters of movement and emotion in the last third of the century,— Pollaiuolo, Filippino and most important of all, Leonardo da Vinci.[67]

APPENDIX

THE PROBLEM OF THE MASCOLI CHAPEL

The evidence for the attribution and dating of the *Death of the Virgin* mosaic and the opinions based on this evidence constitute a special and intricate problem. Around the marble dado runs the following inscription: "MCCCCXXX Ducāte Inclito D. Francesco Foscari Procuratoribus Santi Marci D D Leonardo Mocenigo e Bartholomaeo Donato haec Capella condita fuit." No one has claimed that this date could refer to the execution of the mosaics, but rather to the construction of the chapel and possibly to the decoration of the altar by a marble triptych. However a celebrated bit of evidence shows that in 1449 the mosaics were still in progress, for on March 22 of that year one Stamati Carsioti, a Greek from Retino, was hanged between the two

columns in the Piazzetta for having stolen almost the entire treasure of San Marco. This enterprising burglar had contrived to get himself locked up in the Baptistery each evening, then picked the locks, made his way to the treasury, removed a marble slab and tunneled into the wall, replacing the slab in the morning. Stamati enters our story only because the hiding-place he chose for his rubble was the nearby Cappella della Madonna (not known as Cappella dei Mascoli until 1618 when it was conferred upon a secular congregation of that name which had previously met elsewhere in the basilica; see below), an obvious spot for the purpose since work was still going on there. Two sources record this event: Marin Sanudo (*Vite dei duchi*, in L. A.

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67. This is perhaps as good a place as any to record my rejection of a number of works for which claims have been made as representatives of Castagno's early style. Whatever one may think of the consistency and the evaluation of the Master of Pratovecchio as reconstructed by Longhi ("Il 'maestro di Pratovecchio,'" *Paragone*, III, 1952, pp. 10-37), or in fact of most of the assertions brought forward in that controversial article, the author is certainly correct in his identification of the Pratovecchio panel as the missing central panel of the altarpiece in the store-room of the National Gallery at London, and in his attribution of the work to the same hand that painted the so-called Poggibonsi altarpiece now in the hands of a New York dealer, and first given to Castagno by Richter. The resultant artistic personality, however, can scarcely be rated above the level of an interesting if repulsive freak, scarcely worth the attention that has been lavished upon him, and certainly not the painter of any of the other unrelated works attributed to him.

The other attributions of Richter to the young Castagno (passages in the frescoes at Castiglion d'Olona, and the profile of the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani at Bergamo; *Castagno*, pp. 4 and 10) do not merit serious attention. It might be mentioned, however, that the quizzical face peeking from a window in the simulated architecture of the lowest tier of frescoes in the choir of the Collegiata at Castiglion d'Olona (identified by Richter as a self portrait by the young Andreino!) is probably by the same provincial, possibly Sienese master that painted the delightful putti scrambling up apple-trees around the walls of the bedroom in the Palazzo Branda at Castiglione, just outside the room containing Masolino's famous landscape. For what it is worth, I would like to record here an unknown inscription rudely scratched on the simulated architecture at the left side of the apse, near the tomb of Cardinal Branda,

which I read as follows:
"mcccxlvij die xxiiij julj dux mđi hic fuit"
Above, after indecipherable scratches, appear in another and larger hand the words "dux mediol." We know, therefore, with certainty, the not-surprising fact that all pictorial activity in the Collegiata had ceased before July 24, 1447.

A more formidable contender is the huge frescoed *Madonna and Child between Saints John the Baptist and Jerome* painted for the chapel of the Pazzi family in their Castel del Trebbio, and now reposing, in a detached state, in the Contini-Bonacossi Collection at Florence. The history of the attribution is given in Berti (*Mostra di quattro maestri*, pp. 136-137). Salmi (*Paolo Uccello*, p. 170) proposed a date of around 1443, having identified the two apparently six-year-old children who appear at the left and right with the twin children of Andrea de' Pazzi, Niccolò and Oretta, born in 1437. Nothing is more dangerous than this sort of portrait identification without evidence. It cannot stand against the character of the picture itself, replete with the kind of devices invented by Castagno around 1449-1450 and utilized in the Berlin *Assumption* from San Miniato fra le Torri, such as the upside-down angels at the top of the fresco, or the curling locks and prominent eyelashes of the angels flanking the throne. The general timidity and dullness of the work, its tendency toward exact bilateral symmetry in the posing of the feet, its clumsy drawing, and its uncertain handling of problems of form and perspective, all indicate to me the work of a pupil, too weak in his concept of the human subject to allow his figures to assert themselves against the background textile. The painter of the Contini *Madonna* was probably an assistant of Castagno's at some point. But in spite of Salmi's observations on this subject in "Rivelazioni su Andrea del Castagno," the problem of Castagno's assistants awaits systematic study.

Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Milan, 1733, XXII, cols. 1132-4: "ad illam capellam novam, ad quam nunc de Mosaico laboratur"), and the chronicle of Stefano Magno (cited by Testi, *op.cit.*, II, p. 40: "dove el se lavorava la capela de la Madonna arente la capela de S. Sidro," San Sidro meaning Sant'Isidoro, the chapel next to that with which we are concerned). So in 1449 the mosaics were still not finished.

An old tradition placed their completion even later. Francesco Sansovino (*Venezia nobilissima*, Venice, 1604) was the first to note the signature of Giambono on the *Birth* and *Presentation* mosaics, and to connect it with the entire series, saying that Giambono completed it in 1490, after having consumed in its execution "lo spatio di trenta anni." This unlikely date was not repeated by Giovanni Stringa (*Vita di S. Marco Evangelista*, Venice, 1680, p. 173), who contented himself with recording the inscription and attributing the series to Giambono, nor by Flaminio Cornelio (*Ecclesiae Venetae antiquis monumentis*, Venice, 1749, p. 141), who knew only the 1430 inscription and recorded the transfer of the chapel to the Scuola de' Mascoli by Doge Antonio Prioli on December 1, 1618. The date of 1490 flickers up again in the account of Giovanni Meschinello (*La chiesa ducale di S. Marco*, Venice, 1753, pp. 81-82), but with no mention of evidence.

The art-historical importance of the Mascoli mosaics, as a clear departure from the Byzantine tradition into new (Gothic and Renaissance) channels was first recognized by Anton Maria Zanetti (*Della pittura veneziana*, Venice, 1771, p. 566), who found the Mascoli mosaics the best in San Marco, and noted that Giambono was "il primo chè si dipartisse in tutto dall' antica maniera, e seguisse i modi de' piu accreditati pittori di allora. . . ." The guidebook writers of the 19th century contented themselves with repeating the 1490 date, the tradition of a thirty-year span of execution and the attribution to Giambono: Francesco Zanotto (*Guida di Venezia*, Venice, 1856, p. 97); Pietro Selvatico and Vincenzo Lazzari (*Guida artistica e storia di Venezia*, Venice, 1881, 2nd ed., p. 100).

Only in the 1890's did it strike the pioneers of connoisseurship that the *Death of the Virgin* disclosed so fundamental a discrepancy from the rest of the Mascoli series as to be incompatible with Venetian style and in fact conceivable only as the emanation of a Florentine mind. Piero Saccardo (*Les mosaïques de Saint-Marc à Venise*, Venice, 1897, pp. 33-37) noted the Florentine character of the perspective and the similarity of the blue draperies to certain blues in use in Florentine Quattrocento painting. He quoted also the opinion of Giovanni Saccardo, who laboriously (and needlessly, as it would appear), demolished the date of 1490, under the impression that some one of the older writers must have seen an inscription of 1450 and mistaken the 5 for a 9—although none of them ever mentions any inscription at all. But Piero Saccardo also pointed out for the first time the disclosures of the burglary of 1449, whose date he unfortunately mistook

for 1444. Camillo Boito (*Donatello*, Milan, 1897) went so far as to attribute the design to the greatest sculptor of the fifteenth century. Gustav Ludwig ("Vittore Carpaccio," *Archivio storico dell'Arte*, 1897, p. 416) still gave the whole series to Giambono.

In 1898 came Thode's article, attributing the mosaic to Castagno. His opinion was endorsed by Waldschmidt (*op.cit.*, p. 50), Adolfo Venturi (*Storia dell' Arte italiana*, VII, pt. I, 1911, p. 302 and fig. 175), Carlo Gamba ("Un' opera ignota di Andrea del Castagno," *Dedalo*, Anno IV, I, 1923-1924, p. 174; idem, "Andrea del Castagno," *Enciclopedia italiana*, III, 1929, p. 201), William R. Valentiner ("St. John, by Andrea del Castagno," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Art*, XVI, 1937, p. 121), Richter, *Art in America*, 1941, p. 194; idem, *Castagno*, p. 8), Millard Meiss (*Andrea Mantegna as Illuminator*, New York, 1957, pp. 24, 87 n. 34, 90 n. 24).

But as early as 1899 Thode's attribution was attacked by an anonymous author ("Ancora," *L'Arte*, II, 1899, p. 105: "Noi vediamo semplicemente nel mosaico della morte di Maria l'influsso della scuola padovana . . .") and in 1915 ridiculed by Testi (*op.cit.*, p. 47) on the grounds that Castagno was never in Venice. (Only five years later Forlati was to publish the signed frescoes in San Tarasio, cf. Part I, note 27.) Testi cited the preceding mentions of the mosaics in source literature, in which no name other than Giambono occurs. He pointed out that Castagno was otherwise engaged in Florence during 1449 when the mosaics were in progress, and adduced a long series of apparent discrepancies between the mosaic and the frescoes at Sant'Apollonia, including the greater prevalence of beards in the former as compared with the latter, and the fact that the apostles in the *Last Supper* are barefoot while those in the mosaic wear sandals. (In point of fact, the two full-length apostles in the mosaic attributable to Castagno are both barefoot.) Testi then espoused the hypothesis of Paduan influence, notably that of Andrea Mantegna, in the *Death of the Virgin*, but supposed that during the lengthy course of the work there was time for Giambono to slip back into his outmoded Venetian manner, preserved for us by the apostles at the right, a confirmation of whose late date Testi found in the floating *fecit* below these figures.

In 1914 (*op.cit.*, VII, Part 3, p. 99) Venturi recanted his original opinion, and assigned the mosaic to Mantegna, a view approved by Fiocco on numerous occasions, to wit: "Michele Giambono," *Venezia, Studi d'Arte e storia*, Milan and Rome, I, 1920, p. 228 et passim; *Burlington Magazine*, XL, 1922, p. 11; *L'Arte di Andrea Mantegna*, Bologna, 1927, pp. 233-238; *Mantegna*, Milan, n.d. (1937?), p. 38. In both 1920 and 1927 Fiocco referred to the Mascoli Chapel as a Venetian equivalent of the Ovetari Chapel at Padua, in that the mosaics represented a collaboration between a number of important artists; he included, in addition to Giambono whose signature was indisputable, not only Mantegna but Jacopo Bellini, supporting his contentions with evidence drawn from the sketches and

scribbled inscriptions on the walls of the former mosaic workshop behind San Marco. These fragments he characterized ("Giambono," p. 227) as "ricerche minuziose che preparono l'opera del mosaico, e più precisamente a quelle riguardanti il rifacimento dell'edificio che incornicia la Visitazione e a qualche parte rinnovata della Morte della Madonna." Since the inscriptions begin in 1454 and run to 1478, recording the names of the procurators of San Marco and of the successive Doges, Fiocco was struck by the proximity of the earliest date to 1453, when Mantegna was married to Nicolosia, Jacopo Bellini's daughter. He also reproduced ("Giambono," p. 230 n. 1; *L'Arte di Mantegna*, p. 233) an inscription which he read as follows: ". . . chobo . . . ro de la . . . pela de San Marco," and interpreted as a signature of Jacopo Bellini. Since Fiocco's contentions have never been systematically refuted, I should point out the following serious objections: (1) While the fragmentary drawings for pediments and entablatures do indeed correspond closely to the architecture of the *Visitation*, the scattered medallions do not resemble those of the *Death of the Virgin*, nor does the sketch of a scrawny, elderly, hawk-nosed man with a cap seen from the left, adduced by Fiocco as a study for the St. John, bear the remotest likeness to that youthful, sturdy, snub-nosed, bare-headed figure seen from the right; (2) There is no proof that the inscriptions are relevant; since that of 1478 was clearly written long after the completion of the mosaics, the 1454 date may be equally inapplicable; (3) There is no evidence that Mantegna was in Venice in 1454, yet Fiocco regards the sketches and the inscriptions as such, even though he attributes the sketches to Jacopo Bellini and the inscriptions do not mention the name of Man-

tegna; (4) We have yet to see proof that Jacopo Bellini is referred to by the letters ". . . chobo . . . ro." My own view is that, while the architectural passages may be by the master of the *Visitation* (presumably Giambono), the rest of the sketches are in no sense preparations for the mosaics, and that they are not of a character or a quality to permit ascription to Jacopo Bellini.

The attribution of the *Death of the Virgin* to Mantegna is maintained by Mrs. Kennedy, *op.cit.*, p. 206 n. 57; by Salmi, *Paolo Uccello*, p. 169, and favored by Poggi, *op.cit.*, p. 53; while Berenson, *op.cit.*, p. 197, notes the influence of Mantegna in certain figures. The latest treatment of Castagno's art (Horster, *op.cit.*) makes no mention of the Mascoli Chapel or its problems. In her recent book on Mantegna, however (London, 1955, pp. 198-199), Erica Tietze-Conrat rejected the mosaic as a work of Mantegna but offered no alternative solution. André Chastel ("La Mosaïque à Venise et à Florence au XVe siècle," *Arte veneta*, 1954, p. 122) expresses no opinion of the authorship of the *Death of the Virgin*, inquiring only whether the architecture of the *Visitation* might not derive from Castagno. It is worth recording that, long before anyone had thought of attributing it to Mantegna, Paul Kristeller (*Andrea Mantegna*, London, 1901, p. 222) had found the Mascoli mosaic "so clearly distinguished in its aim after a solemn processional effect from works of Mantegna that it brings into prominence the peculiar inwardness, simplicity and humanity of Mantegna's conception."

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CHARLES LEBRUN'S *TRIUMPHS OF ALEXANDER**

DONALD POSNER

I

WHEN, toward the end of his life, Charles LeBrun looked back upon a career of almost unparalleled artistic productivity, he singled out the series of five paintings known as the *Triumphs of Alexander* (Figs. 1, 4-7)[1] and spoke of it as his most memorable accomplishment.[2] LeBrun's contemporaries concurred in this opinion, and posterity, as long as it thought to honor LeBrun, remembered the *Triumphs of Alexander*.[3]

Today one tends to regard LeBrun as a highly competent but uninspired artist, and his most recent biographer characterized the *Triumphs of Alexander* as "tableaux de chevalet démesurés et confus," adding that "leur ardeur facile et leur fougue ne compensent pas l'ennui qu'elles dégagent."[4] But if they have ceased to inspire us, the Alexander paintings are, nevertheless, important historic phenomena and they deserve more careful study than they have received heretofore. For more than two decades LeBrun controlled official artistic production in Louis XIV's France,[5] and these once famous paintings thus become primary documents for the history of taste. Moreover, the Alexander pictures are of very special interest to the historian of art and culture, for their creation, during the 1660's, precisely coincides with the formulation of a new and culminating phase of seventeenth century French civilization. The beginning of this phase is marked by the inception of the personal reign of Louis XIV in 1661, and in the pictorial arts the event which reflects it most clearly is the decisive reorganization of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in 1663.

The five paintings, belonging to the Louvre,[6] represent events from the campaigns of Alexander

1. In the literature the paintings are variously called the *History*, *Triumphs*, or more frequently *Battles of Alexander*. However, it will become evident in the course of this article that Triumphs most properly expresses their content.

2. In 1686 when his recent painting, *Moses and the Daughters of Jethro*, and the earlier *Raising of the Cross* were highly praised at court, LeBrun recalled the *Triumphs of Alexander*, and said that compared to it his recent works were "peu de chose." (*Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture* [ed. L. Dussieux and others], Paris, 1854, I, pp. 60-64.)

At the time of his death LeBrun owned well over a hundred prints of pictures from the Alexander series which he probably kept to sell on request (R.-A. Weigert, "L'inventaire après décès de Charles LeBrun," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XLIV, 1954, p. 353).

3. See, among others, Charles Perrault, *Paralelle* [sic] *des anciens et des modernes*, Paris, 1692, I, pp. 220ff.; Roger de Piles, *Abrégé de la vie des peintres* (2nd ed.), Paris, 1715, p. 509; Diderot, *Oeuvres complètes* (ed. J. Assézat), Paris,

1876, X, pp. 192, 266; Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses* (ed. H. Zimmern), London, 1887, p. 142.

Pierre Mignard, LeBrun's life long rival, was eventually obliged to engage in a belated competition with LeBrun by painting his own version of the *Tent of Darius* in 1689 (now in the Hermitage, Leningrad). LeBrun's version of the subject, the first of the Alexander paintings, proved to be especially influential in the eighteenth century in England where it served as a source for paintings by Hogarth, Hayman, and Reynolds. (See C. Mitchell, "Benjamin West's 'Death of General Wolfe' and the Popular History Piece," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VII, 1944, pp. 28 n. 1, 29; *Ibid.*, "Three Phases of Reynolds Method," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXX, 1942, p. 40.)

4. P. Marcel, *Charles LeBrun*, Paris, n.d., p. 57.

5. LeBrun's commanding influence began in 1661 when he allied himself with Colbert and began working for the Crown. Within a few years he became *premier peintre*, Director of the Gobelins, and Chancellor of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. Only after the death of Colbert in 1683 did his power begin to wane.

6. Four of the paintings were in the Louvre permanently by 1682, while the *Tent of Darius* seems to have been brought to Versailles immediately after its completion and remained separated from the other paintings for more than a century. Although it did not figure with the others in the Salon of 1673 (cf. *Collection des livrets des anciennes expositions*, [ed. J. Guiffrey], Paris, 1867-1872, I, p. 29), the early literature, as well as the tapestries and engravings made after the paint-

the Great in Asia. Arranged in their proper narrative sequence, they are: the *Crossing of the River Granicus*, the *Tent of Darius*, the *Battle of Arbela*, the *Triumphal Entry into Babylon*, and the *Defeat of Porus*.[7] The paintings have never been dated precisely, and Henry Jouin's suggestions for dating and chronology, which most writers have accepted, prove either incorrect or confused.[8] Actually the available evidence is sufficient to indicate the general sequence in which the paintings were executed and to suggest termini for the execution of each painting with some degree of exactness.

From the inscription on Gérard Édelinck's engraving after the picture, we know that the first painting of the series, the *Tent of Darius*, was begun by order of Louis XIV at Fontainebleau in 1661,[9] and it was probably finished in the following year. It was an immediate success and LeBrun soon undertook to expand and continue the Alexander narrative. The other four histories are documented as having been painted at the Gobelins,[10] and it is probable that the expanded project was begun in June of 1662, when the Gobelins were bought for the Crown, or shortly afterward. By October 10, 1665, both the *Crossing of the Granicus* and the *Entry into Babylon* must have been completed or very near completion, for on that date LeBrun showed them to Bernini when the latter visited the Gobelins.[11] One imagines that if either of the two remaining paintings had been much advanced at that date, it would have been shown to Bernini, and we may therefore assume 1665 as a *terminus post quem* for both the *Battle of Arbela* and the *Defeat of Porus*.[12] The first of these was completed by at least February of 1669, and probably by the end of 1668, for Sébastien Bourdon mentioned it in his discourse to the Academy on February 9, 1669, as "recently shown to the public."[13] We have no evidence that the *Defeat of Porus* was finished before August 14, 1673, when it was exhibited in the Salon;[14] but since LeBrun had painted two of the pictures within three years, and as it is not improbable that work progressed on the final two at a similar pace, we may suppose that the *Defeat of Porus*, along with the *Battle of Arbela*, was finished about 1668.

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ings, make it clear that the *Tent of Darius* was always considered an integral part of the series. (Since 1934 the *Tent of Darius* has been on deposit at Versailles.)

7. Their measurements in meters are respectively: 4.70 x 10.29; 2.98 x 4.53; 4.70 x 12.65; 4.50 x 7.07; 4.70 x 12.64. The *Tent of Darius* was considerably cut down, at the top and at both sides, perhaps as early as the seventeenth century in order to match Veronese's *Pilgrims at Emmaus* (Louvre), to which it was juxtaposed at Versailles (cf. Perrault, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 220-221), and which measured 2.90 x 4.48. The original dimensions of LeBrun's picture were about the same as those of the *Entry into Babylon* (F. Lecomte, *Cabinet des singularitez d'architecture, peinture, sculpture, gravure*, Paris, 1699-1700, III, pt. II, pp. 44-45).

8. Jouin (*Charles LeBrun et les arts sous Louis XIV*, Paris, 1889, pp. 212, 497-500), seems to base his chronology, which dates the *Entry into Babylon* about 1668 as the last of the series to be completed, on the assumption that the list given by Guillet de Saint-Georges (in *Mémoires inédits . . .* [ed. L. Dussieux], I, p. 25), is arranged in the order of their execution. This is untenable in the light of Chantelou's report of Bernini's visit to the Gobelins (see below, note 11). Curiously, elsewhere in the same monograph (p. 168), Jouin cites the passage from Chantelou and there concludes that the *Entry into Babylon* was completed by 1665! On Jouin's dating of the *Tent of Darius* see note 9.

9. Jouin's arbitrary decision (*op.cit.*, p. 498) to reject the evidence presented by Édelinck's engraving after the picture and to give credence to the assertion of Guillet de Saint-Georges (whose biography of LeBrun was probably written in 1693,

the year in which he read it to the Academy), that the painting was begun in 1660, is puzzling. Édelinck's engraving is inscribed: "gravé . . . d'après le tableau qu'en a faict M^r leBrun . . . et que sa Ma^te prenoit plaisir de lui voir peindre a fontainebleau en lanné 1661." The engraver was intimately associated with LeBrun, and the engraving was made about 1671, only a decade after the painting was completed. Had the engraver made an error it is difficult to understand why the plate was not corrected, especially since the print was included in 1679 in the first edition of the semiofficial *Cabinet du Roi* volumes. (Cf. H. Delaborde, *Gérard Édelinck*, Paris, n.d., pp. 39ff., 42, and *passim*; J.-C. Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, 5th ed., Paris, 1860-1865, I, pp. 1442-1443.)

Even without the evidence of Édelinck's engraving Guillet's statement would seem questionable, since he incorrectly cites the same year, 1660, as marking the foundation of the *Manufacture royale* at the Gobelins (properly 1662), and wrongly dates the beginning of LeBrun's work in the gallery of Apollo in the Louvre in 1661 (properly 1663) (*Mémoires inédits . . .*, I, pp. 22-26).

10. In an autograph note of Jans dated 1694 (cited by Jouin, *op.cit.*, p. 549).

11. P. Chantelou, *Journal du voyage du cavalier Bernin en France* (ed. L. Lalanne), Paris, 1885, p. 219.

12. Further evidence that the *Defeat of Porus* was not begun before 1665 is adduced below, pp. 243f.

13. *Conférences de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* (ed. H. Jouin), Paris, 1893, p. 127.

14. *Collection des livrets . . .*, I, pp. 9, 29.

II

The suite of Alexander histories which occupied LeBrun for eight years or more had not been anticipated by either LeBrun or Louis XIV when the painter received the commission, his first from the King, for the *Tent of Darius*. LeBrun had been presented to the King by Mazarin,[15] and in 1661, when the court was staying at Fontainebleau, Louis sent for LeBrun,[16] gave him an apartment in the palace, and asked him to paint a subject of his own choosing, provided only that it be drawn from the history of Alexander.[17]

It is worthwhile examining the circumstances surrounding this commission more closely. The day after Mazarin's death, on March 9, 1661, the King had announced his intention to govern France personally, and he effected his decision with surprising determination. The duties of king-ship, however, did not preclude the pleasures of royalty, and the King spent the summer and autumn months of 1661 at Fontainebleau where he was largely preoccupied, first in a flirtation with *Monsieur's* recent bride, Henriette Anne, and then in an affair with Louise de La Vallière, who became his first mistress. Sometime that summer Louis called LeBrun to court,[18] probably both in the hope of diversion and to assess the qualifications of a potential *premier peintre*. LeBrun, an instinctive courtier, pleased the young King, who came every day to watch him paint, with his congenial conversation and his willingness to let Louis dictate each day's share of the work.[19]

Louis desired a subject drawn from the history of Alexander. A twenty-three-year-old king's interest in an Emperor who had conquered the world by the time he was thirty is not surprising, and the Alexander frescoes at Fontainebleau by Primaticcio and Niccolò dell'Abate may have provided the initial stimulus for his choice.[20] LeBrun, whose responsibility it was to choose the most appropriate subject from the Alexander narratives, had himself only once before portrayed Alexander. This was in 1650, when, in his "Poussinesque" manner, he executed an *Alexander and Diogenes* for a friend.[21] The story of the Cynic Diogenes, who had contempt for princes and despised material possessions, and wanted only one favor from Alexander, that he stand out of his sunlight, was typical of the subjects favored by the earlier stoical generation which had patronized Poussin. But such a subject was hardly suited to flatter the ambitions and ideals of Louis XIV.[22] For the young monarch LeBrun chose to represent *Alexander at the Tent of Darius* (Fig. 1). The story, which is told in greatest detail by the first century historian Quintus Curtius, relates that after the Battle of Issus, Darius' family was captured by the Macedonians. When Alexander with his friend Hephestion entered the royal tent, the queens and princesses, mistaking the taller man for Alexander, bowed before Hephestion. Alexander was then pointed out by one of the eunuchs, and Sisigambis, Darius' mother, fell at his feet, begging his pardon. Alexander raised her up and

15. F. Lecomte, *op.cit.*, III, pt. 1, pp. 160-161.

16. Unfortunately I have not been able to fix the exact date at which LeBrun came to Fontainebleau. The court was there during the Summer and most of the Fall of 1661. LeBrun was at Vaux-le-Vicomte in July and most of August preparing for Fouquet's *fête* of August 17, and in October he was in Paris. (Jouin, *op.cit.*, pp. 126-127, 147, 401-402.) This indicates late August or September as the time of his stay at Fontainebleau.

17. *Mémoires inédits . . .* , I, pp. 24-25.

18. It would be interesting to know if LeBrun arrived before or after Louis arrested his patron, the Minister of Finance Fouquet, on September 5. But cf. above, note 16.

19. *Mémoires inédits . . .* , I, p. 25; Lecomte, *op.cit.*, III, pt. 1, p. 162; Jouin, *op.cit.*, p. 134.

20. Alexander subjects were relatively rare in French paint-ing of the first half of the seventeenth century, and the few that were made tend to avoid "imperial" connotations (cf. the lists of Alexander paintings in A. Pigler's *Barockthemen*,

Budapest, 1956, II, pp. 340-348). But (and it is surely an indication of the cultural direction of painting under Louis XIV), the general theme of court life in Asia during and just prior to the age of Alexander did, in fact, appear very fre-quently in French romances and plays during the century. One might mention LaCalprenède's *Cassandre* (1642-1645), and Mme. de Scudéry's *Le Grand Cyrus* (1649-1653); and among the plays, where the theme was especially popular, Hardy's *La mort de Daire*, *La mort d'Alexandre*, and *Timoclée* (all presented between 1626 and 1628), Gillet de la Tessonerie's *L'art de régner* (1645), Boyer's *Porus, ou la générosité d' Alexandre* (1646; revived in 1665), Thomas Corneille's *Darius* (1658), and Quinault's *Mort de Cyrus* (1658).

21. Jouin, *op.cit.*, p. 504.

22. Although the design of Puget's relief of *Alexander and Diogenes* (Louvre) was approved by Colbert in 1671 for Versailles, it was finished only in 1693 after much official harassment, and even so it never reached Versailles.

told her, "You were not mistaken, mother, for this man too is Alexander." Then he reassured the women and thereafter treated them with notable clemency.[23]

This story has never been especially popular in the history of art although it was illustrated by a number of artists before LeBrun (but not to my knowledge in France).[24] The two best known versions, by Sodoma and Veronese respectively, offer different interpretations of the story. Sodoma's *Tent of Darius* (Fig. 2) is pendant to his *Wedding of Alexander and Roxanne*, and was painted in the Farnesina in Rome about 1512. The coupling of Alexander's marriage to a woman of obscure birth, motivated solely by a sincere passion, and a story in which he displays filial concern for Sisigambis, but is unmoved by the beauty and rank of Darius' daughters, makes the *Tent of Darius* one part of what might be characterized as an *Amor Vincit Originem* theme.[25] Veronese's picture (Fig. 3), in the London National Gallery, is treated with little regard for historical accuracy and it surely portrays members of the Venetian Pisani family, for whom it was painted, perhaps in the late 1570's, and for whom it probably had personal meanings. Standing aloof and reserved before a large audience, Alexander points with a splendid gesture to Hephestion. The emphasis on this gesture, and consequently on the words which accompany it—"this man too is Alexander"—would construe the tale as a moral exemplum of friendship, of the willingness to share glory and possessions with a comrade. This is the sense of the story as told in the *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium* by the first century writer, Valerius Maximus, which was possibly Veronese's source.[26]

In the *Grand Siècle* the story was to be seen in a new light, and the pictorial accents which LeBrun gave to his picture (Fig. 1) were unique in the history of the subject. Indeed, the name which the seventeenth century gave to his painting, "The Queens of Persia at the Feet of Alexander," is in itself indicative of its special connotations. Here an imploring Persian court kneels before Alexander who touches the surprised Hephestion rather absently, while offering one hand protectively to the women. Strangely, Alexander seems to ignore the prostrate Sisigambis, looking past her to the younger Queen and her daughters. The dramatic emphasis of the picture is thus entirely on Alexander's attitude toward the beauteous and despairing women, on his gesture of gallant gentleness. These accents find their justification in the commentary of Plutarch, who, after praising the respect that the Emperor showed for the chastity of Darius' daughters, concludes that "Alexander . . . considering the mastery of himself a more Kingly thing than the conquest

23. Quintus Curtius *History of Alexander* III. 12, 15-26. Loeb ed., 1946, I, pp. 141-145.

24. Like the Alexander theme generally (see above, note 20), the *Tent of Darius* appears in contemporary French literature, for example in LaCalprenède's *Cassandre*, in Claude Boyer's play, *Porus, ou la générosité d'Alexandre*, where, as a variant, Porus' family is substituted for Darius' family, and in Gillet de la Tessonerie's *L'art de régner*, where it closely parallels LeBrun's interpretation of the episode (see below, pp. 241ff.).

Considering LeBrun's interest in literature, and in the theater especially, it is not unlikely that such works were known to him, and perhaps partly responsible for his choice of subject. That he was, for at least one of the Alexander paintings, directly dependent on the contemporary theater is demonstrated below, pp. 243ff.

25. The juxtaposition of the two subjects goes back to fifteenth century *cassoni* painting (see P. Schubring, *Cassoni*, Leipzig, 1915, p. 257, nos. 150, 151, and pl. xxx), and is probably dependent on Quintus Curtius' remark that Alexander, "who had looked upon the wife of Darius and his two maiden daughters . . . with no other feeling than that of a father, was . . . transported with love for [Roxanne], of obscure birth in comparison with royal stock" (VIII. 4, 25. Loeb ed., I, p. 271). By illustrating the moment when Alexander raises Sisigambis and calls her "mother," Sodoma emphasizes the Emperor's merely paternal feelings toward the daughters.

It is possible that Sodoma's frescoes allude to Agostino

Chigi's liaison with Francesca Ordeaschi, the Venetian girl whom he brought to Rome in 1511 and who bore him four children. However, Agostino did not marry her until 1519.

26. This was suggested by J. P. Richter in "The 'Family of Darius' by Paolo Veronese" (*Burlington Magazine*, LXII, 1933, p. 181), where he also made a comparison, albeit superficial, with LeBrun's painting. The pertinent passage in Valerius Maximus reads: "'Nihil est, inquit, quod hoc nomine confundaris, nam et hic Alexander est.' Utri prius gratulemur? qui hoc dicere voluit an cui audire contigit? Maximi enim animi rex, etiam totum terrarum orbem aut victoriis, aut spe complexus, tam paucis verbis se cum comite suo partitus est. O donum inclytae vocis danti pariter atque accipienti speciosum!" (IV. 7, ext. 2).

It must be admitted that, unlike the Sodoma, certain elements in Veronese's painting, such as the old patrician with Darius' family and the peculiar "recommendation" of the princess, cannot be explained by reference to the ancient sources. These pictures will be discussed in a forthcoming article by Philipp Fehl on the iconography of the *Family of Darius*. Mr. Fehl's interpretations of the Sodoma and the Veronese are very different from those proposed here, but he agrees that LeBrun's concept of the theme is in any case fundamentally different from those of his Cinquecento predecessors.

On Veronese's painting, particularly for the dating, see further, C. Gould, *The Sixteenth Century Venetian School. National Gallery Catalogues*, London, 1959, pp. 143-145.

of his enemies, [did not lay] hands on these women."[27] By illustrating this "honorable and princely" action, as Plutarch calls it, LeBrun made his picture a lesson in formalized gallantry, in the ethic of royalty.[28]

Alexander's exemplary behavior on this occasion seems to have so impressed the seventeenth century Frenchman that Félibien, who discussed the painting at length in an essay published in 1663, could call the Macedonian's action "une des plus Glorieuses qu'ALEXANDRE ait jamais Faites." It was glorious because it was possible only by "se Surmontant Soy-Même . . . , le Vainqueur de toutes les Nations."[29] It is curious that the seventeenth century should have pretended that such action would cost so much in self-control, but then the myth had made the beauty of these Persian women inescapably affective—so much so that Félibien explained Hephestion's gesture as owing as much to his astonishment at the beauty of the Princesses as to his surprise at hearing Alexander's words.[30]

This myth, which was wholly appropriate to a gallant and absolutist society, was already current in France when LeBrun began his painting. It appears for instance, with some variation, in a play by Gillet de la Tessonerie, *L'art de régner ou le sage gouverneur* (1645). The play was actually written to edify the seven-year-old Louis XIV, and it is composed of five acts exemplifying five "kingly" virtues: justice, clemency, generosity, continence, and liberality. Continence is represented by Alexander at the tent of Darius: Alexander sees Statira, the maiden daughter of the Asian monarch, and captivated by her beauty, he immediately loves her. But his impassioned words leave Statira unmoved, for she loves the Persian nobleman, Oroontes. Alexander gallantly surrenders her to his rival. Gillet moralizes that a prince must know how to:

> Dompter ses passions par une force extrême.
> Gourmander ses désirs et se vaincre soi-même.[31]

With almost the identical words Édelinck's engraving after LeBrun's *Tent of Darius* is inscribed: "Il est d'un Roy de se vaincre soy-mesme." Virtue not for its own sake, but as the duty of a gallant monarch.

By giving visible expression to ideals and attitudes of the society of Louis XIV, LeBrun's painting could not but succeed at court. But did it perhaps have a more personal meaning for the King? The story of Louis' love affair with Mazarin's niece, Marie Mancini, is well known, and one cannot doubt the sorrow and pain he felt when forced by his political responsibilities to leave her and marry the Infanta Maria Theresa of Spain in June of 1660. Certainly the man who, a year later, flirted with his brother's wife and took his first mistress was long since reconciled to his loss of Marie. But would it be too bold to suggest that Louis, looking at the *Tent of Darius*, might have remembered his own struggle with passion, and been proud that he, like the Macedonian Emperor, had proven master of himself? Voltaire, who had such a fine understanding of the mentality of

27. *Life of Alexander* XXI. Loeb ed., 1929, VII, pp. 283, 285.

28. A seventeenth century Italian version of the theme, by Pietro da Cortona (in one of the eight lunettes illustrating the continence of the ancients in the *Sala di Venere* in the Pitti Palace in Florence), isolates Alexander and Sisigambis in the sudden pathos of the moment when the Emperor, by his tender words, makes an implicit pledge of continence to the suppliant Queen. The Italian, in this emphasis on the deeply felt responses of two individuals to each other, may be said to be exploring the nature of human virtue, and in this sense is more strictly "moral" than LeBrun, whose picture is turned to accent the courtly propriety of Alexander's behavior.

29. *Les reines de Perse aux pieds d'Alexandre*, London, 1703, p. 2. It is an indication of the fame enjoyed by this painting that Félibien's essay, originally published in 1663 (Paris), was reprinted three times in France before the end of the century, being included in the two editions of Félibien's *Descriptions de divers ouvrages de peinture faits pour le roi* (1671 and 1689), and once reappearing alone (1696). In 1703 the English-French edition, which has been quoted here, was published.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

31. G. Lacour-Gayet, *L'éducation politique de Louis XIV*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1923, pp. 21-23. It is not known whether Louis actually saw the play, which was performed in Paris in 1645. The play did attain a certain popularity as it was published in three editions in the space of five years (*Ibid.*, p. 24).

the *Grand Siècle*, in commenting upon Louis' affair with Marie Mancini says, "il l'aima assez pour être tenté de l'épouser, et fut assez maître de lui-même pour s'en séparer."[32]

III

The success of the *Tent of Darius* led LeBrun to project a series of didactically connected Alexander paintings. Initially he proposed adding three pictures, two of which, Alexander Pardoning Timoclea and Alexander Expelling the Wife of Spitamenes,[33] would have displayed, like the *Tent of Darius*, the virtue of the Emperor. The third, representing Alexander cutting the Gordian knot and thus fulfilling the prophecy that the man who loosed the knot would rule Asia,[34] would have drawn the moral of the series, which was later to be stated in the *Battle of Arbela*, "LA VERTU EST DIGNE DE LEMPIRE DU MONDE."[35] This project may have been related to the series of eleven Alexander paintings which had been made in Rome about 1612 for the Cardinal Alessandro Peretti by Domenichino, Lanfranco, and other painters, and which LeBrun undoubtedly knew. The Roman series represented such virtuous deeds as Alexander pardoning Timoclea and Alexander refusing water when there was none for his soldiers.[36] But LeBrun's concept differs significantly, since, by means of the painting of Alexander cutting the Gordian knot, he would have construed an otherwise unpretentious group of moral anecdotes as an apology for absolutism and imperial ambition.

The projected subjects, however, were abandoned, perhaps because they were too insistently moralizing and too removed from the gallant and romantic interests of the court. Only after considerable exploration of the Alexander story[37] were the final subjects chosen, and when work began the plan did not yet include all the subjects that were actually executed. Indeed the evidence suggests that only the two paintings that were completed by 1665, the *Crossing of the River Granicus* (Fig. 4) and the *Entry into Babylon* (Fig. 5), were initially projected. LeBrun's plan at this stage most certainly was to create a tripartite suite where the long *Crossing of the Granicus* would be flanked by the two smaller paintings, the *Tent of Darius* and the *Entry into Babylon*, on left and right respectively.[38]

The program remained an exposition of the virtue of monarchs and a justification of imperial pretensions, but now, curtailing the moral emphasis of the first plan, the *Tent of Darius* (Fig. 1) was left as the sole, but sufficient proof of monarchical virtue. This painting supplied the first term of an imperial thesis. The second term, a demonstration of the irresistibility of imperial pretensions when founded upon virtue, is provided by the *Crossing of the Granicus* (Fig. 4), representing Alexander's first, and brilliantly successful engagement with the Persians.[39] When LeBrun's painting was engraved by Gérard Audran in 1672, it was inscribed: "LA VERTU SURMONTE TOUT OBSTACLE." Finally, as a spectacular climax, the *Entry into Babylon* (Fig. 5) completes the pictorial thesis. Representing the crowning moment of the Persian campaign, when the world

32. *Siècle de Louis XIV* (ed. É. Bourgeois), Paris, 1903, p. 445.

33. Quintus Curtius VIII. 3, 1-15; Plutarch XII.

34. Quintus Curtius III. 1, 14-18; Plutarch XVIII. Knowledge of the project comes from Nivelon, LeBrun's earliest biographer (Jouin, *op.cit.*, pp. 137, 572).

Miss Jennifer Montagu kindly informs me that she has identified drawings for two of these subjects, the *Timoclea* and the *Gordian Knot*, in the Louvre. They are respectively nos. 6260 and 6369 in J. Guiffrey and P. Marcel, *Inventaire général des dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles, École française*, Paris, 1907-1938, VIII, "LeBrun."

35. Inscribed on Audran's engraving of 1674 after the picture.

36. *Die Kunstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri* (ed. J. Hess), Leipzig, 1934, pp. 141-142, 141 n. 1. On the dating of this series, see further J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Drawings of Domenichino at Windsor Castle*, London, 1948, p. 69.

37. A number of drawings for Alexander subjects, some preserved in the Louvre, are mentioned by Nivelon, who does not, however, date them (Jouin, *op.cit.*, pp. 572-573). It is possible that some were made toward the end of LeBrun's life, when he took up the Alexander theme again, and even began, but did not himself complete, a sixth painting, the *Battle of Alexander Against Porus* (Jouin, *op.cit.*, pp. 502-504, 572-573). This last painting need not be considered here. It is essentially a very belated afterthought, and probably motivated by an attempt on the part of the aged painter to recapture his lost favor at court by harking back to his "finest moment." In this sense it points up the personal significance of the Alexander series for LeBrun.

38. One will recall that the *Tent of Darius* and the *Entry into Babylon* were originally the same or very nearly the same size (see above, note 7).

39. Plutarch XVI; Arrian *Anabasis of Alexander* I. 14-17.

conqueror received the homage of the ancient city,[40] the painting manifests the inevitable elevation of virtuous royalty, the triumphal apotheosis. The picture, as engraved by Audran in 1675, bears the inscription: "AINSY PAR LA VERTU SELEVENT LES HEROS."

The series, as it stood in 1665, was already enormous in size—the battle picture alone being over thirty-five feet long—and, while it had a bombastic and discursive character, it displayed clear and logical narrative connections. But the interests of historical completeness and accuracy, so important to LeBrun's generation, probably led to the decision to expand the narrative of the Persian campaign by the addition of two more pictures. As finally executed however, only one of the two, the *Battle of Arbela* (Fig. 6), illustrated the Persian narrative. The other, the *Defeat of Porus* (Fig. 7), represents the climax of the later campaign in India.[41]

Illustrating the two decisive battles in the conquest of Asia, the two final paintings, almost identical in size, but larger than the others, appear as a separate, or second section of the series, reflecting their origin as later additions to it. However, the genesis of the two paintings is elucidated by a drawing in the Louvre by LeBrun for a *Death of Darius* (Fig. 8).[42] The proportions of the drawing and of the *Defeat of Porus* (Fig. 7), are about the same, their compositions are markedly similar, and the same figure of the mounted Alexander seen from behind appears in both. Evidently LeBrun's first idea was to paint the final events in Darius' fall from greatness, the collapse of his imperial power on the battlefield, and the shattering of his personal glory by his ignominious death, alone and unmourned, with a common cart for a bier. LeBrun probably prepared the two canvases together, began work on the *Battle of Arbela*, and possibly even began painting the *Death of Darius* before he decided to transform the latter subject into a *Defeat of Porus*.[43]

Two "Darius" episodes would have made a clear contribution to the Alexander series. First they would have completed the narrative of the Persian campaign and thus increased the series' significance as historical illustration, and second, within the framework of a single narrative continuity they would have provided a thematic counterpoint to the first three paintings, for the fall of Darius would have made a poignant contrast to the glorious ascendance of Alexander.[44]

Since a *Death of Darius* would have fit so well into the program of the Alexander paintings, to have abandoned it, or more precisely, transformed it into a *Defeat of Porus* seems, on the surface, a rather strange decision. Obviously the new subject had no pictorial advantages, and for the purposes of the didactic argument the change from an Alexander generously mourning the death of his royal opponent[45] to an Alexander rewarding the virtuous nobility of his defeated enemy Porus[46] seems of little consequence. Moreover, the Porus subject actually intrudes into the narrative sequence as a later and essentially unrelated event. And all this is especially peculiar when we consider that LeBrun's picture is probably the first representation of the Porus subject in the history of art.

But an external circumstance, the appearance of Racine's second play, *Alexandre le Grand*, in December of 1665 when the final two paintings of the Alexander series can have been little more

40. Quintus Curtius' description (v. 1, 17-22) is the most extensive.

41. Plutarch LX; Arrian v. 19.

42. J. Guiffrey and P. Marcel, *loc.cit.*, no. 6262. For the story see especially Plutarch XLIII.

43. A study for the *Defeat of Porus*, also in the Louvre (illustrated *Ibid.*, no. 6253), is intermediate between the study for the *Death of Darius* and the Porus painting, and still retains a considerable number of motifs from the Darius drawing.

44. This contrast of the acquisition and loss of empire might well have appealed to Louis XIV, who himself wrote that the situation of the Crowns of France and Spain was such that "on ne peut élever l'une sans abaisser l'autre" ("Mémoires historique, année 1661," *Oeuvres de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1806, I, p. 63).

It should be noticed that Darius himself does not appear in the first three paintings.

45. The theme is closely paralleled in *L'art de régner*, the play already referred to in connection with the *Tent of Darius*. Instead of an Alexander lamenting the murder of Darius by Bessus, a horrified Caesar receives the head of Pompey, murdered by Ptolemy, and Gillet comments that "un grand courage / *Plaigne* son ennemi que la fortune outrage" (Lacour-Gayet, *loc.cit.*).

46. Audran's engraving of 1678 after the picture is inscribed: "LA VERTU PLAIST QUOY QUE VAINCUE."

than just begun, explains the change of subject. Dedicated to the new Alexander, Louis XIV, the play deals with the theme of Alexander and Porus, and as a brilliant piece of monarchical propaganda, charged with courtly sentiment, it was immediately successful at court.[47] For LeBrun it provided an obvious opportunity to demonstrate the *ut pictura poesis* concept, to compete with, or at least to compliment Racine's verbal picture with his pictorial poem, and this within the framework of a five-part series which could even approximate the scope of a five-act drama. In Racine's final scene Alexander asks the defeated Indian king how he expects to be treated, and Porus answers, "En roi." Alexander, pleased by the noble response, and to cap his victory with a show of magnanimity replies, "Régnez toujours Porus, je vous rends vos États." It is with this concluding scene that LeBrun concludes his pictorial history.

LeBrun, then, illustrates Racine; appropriately François Chauveau, who provided the illustration for the 1676 edition of the play (Fig. 9), imitated the main section of LeBrun's painting (Fig. 7). Conversely, Racine elucidates LeBrun. For with Racine's text in mind the *Defeat of Porus* makes a fitting conclusion to the *Triumphs of Alexander*. Porus, his estates returned to him, says to Alexander:

> Seigneur, jusqu'à ce jour l'univers en alarmes
> Me forçait d'admirer le bonheur de vos armes;
> Mais rien ne me forçait, en ce commun effroi,
> De reconnaître en vous plus de vertu qu'en moi.
> Je me rends; je vous cède une pleine victoire:
> Vos vertus, je l'avoue, égalent votre gloire.
> Allez, seigneur, rangez l'univers sous vos lois;
> Il me verra moi-même appuyer vos exploits;
> Je vous suis; et je crois devoir tout entreprendre
> Pour lui donner un maître aussi grand qu'Alexandre.[47a]

The just and undeniable triumph of unlimited ambition through inherent, monarchical virtue— this is the theme of LeBrun's *Triumphs of Alexander*.

The Alexander series, as has been generally said, can be understood as a flattering allusion to Louis XIV as *le nouveau Alexandre*.[48] But more importantly it is a statement of the ideological premises of Louis' reign, and as such was perhaps to be valued more highly than any mere flattery and glorification of the "Sun-King."[49] Immediately recognizing their worth, the Crown had the

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47. The remarks of A. Adam on the play in his *Histoire de la littérature française au XVII⁰ siècle* (Paris, 1948-1956, IV, p. 336), are worth quoting in full: "Dans ce conquérant aux genoux d'une princesse, dans ces rois amoreux de la gloire, hanté par le souci de leur prestige, spirituels et galants, la société monarchique pouvait retrouvait l'image embellie qu'elle se faisait d'elle-même, la séduisante expression de son idéal." These words are equally applicable to LeBrun's Alexander paintings.

47a. The general similarity in the content of Racine's play and LeBrun's paintings has recently been stressed by literary historians, among them, Adam (*loc.cit.*); G. May, (*Tragédie Cornélienne, Tragédie Racinienne* [*Illinois Studies in Languages and Literatures*, XXXII, 4], Urbana, 1948, pp. 139-140); and W. Stewart ("Charles Le Brun et Jean Racine; contacts et points de rencontre," *Actes du cinquième congrès international des langues et littératures modernes* [1951], Florence, 1955, pp. 213-229). May even guessed correctly that for the Porus painting LeBrun was directly dependent on Racine.

This article was already in proof when Dr. Robert Rosenblum kindly called my attention to an article by Robert Hartle ("Le Brun's *Histoire d'Alexandre* and Racine's *Alexandre le Grand*," *Romanic Review*, XLVIII, 1957, pp. 90-103), who has

already touched upon some of the material which is more fully developed here. Hartle's main conclusion, however, that Racine is dependent on LeBrun for the Porus subject, is based on an incomplete understanding of the content and development of LeBrun's pictures, and on an involved, but unacceptable reconstruction of the chronology of the Alexander paintings and tapestries.

48. H. Harvard and M. Vachon went so far as to say that the series alluded to the principal events in the life of Louis XIV (*Les manufactures nationales*, Paris, 1889, p. 115), but did not explain. Such an extreme view cannot be sustained.

When a direct parallel of events could be made, it seems to have required considerable ingenuity on the part of Louis' apologists, who, it will be admitted, were equal to any difficulty. Jean Chapelain, for instance, when referring to one of Louis' military exploits, the crossing of the Rhine (in 1672, at least seven years after LeBrun completed the *Crossing of the Granicus*), wrote: "plus sage qu'Alexandre au Granique, il [s'est] contenté de suyvre les trouppes qu'il avoir commandées pour ce grand exploit" (*Lettres de Jean Chapelain*, Paris, 1883, II, p. 804 n. 2).

49. One wonders to what extent LeBrun was himself responsible for the program of the series. A letter from Chape-

1. LeBrun, *Tent of Darius*. Paris, Louvre. Engraving by Simon Gribelin
(Courtesy New York Public Library)

2. Sodoma, *Tent of Darius*. Rome, Farnesina (photo: Alinari)

3. Veronese, *Alexander and the Family of Darius*. London, National Gallery
(Reproduced by the Courtesy of the Trustees, The National Gallery)

4. LeBrun, *Crossing of the River Granicus*. Paris, Louvre (photo: Alinari)

5. LeBrun, *Triumphal Entry into Babylon*. Paris, Louvre (photo: Alinari)

6. LeBrun, *Battle of Arbela*. Paris, Louvre. Engraving by Gérard Audran
(photo: Archives Photographiques)

7. LeBrun, *Defeat of Porus.* Paris, Louvre (photo: Alinari)

8. LeBrun, *Death of Darius.* Paris, Louvre (photo: Mas)

9. François Chauveau, illustration for Racine's *Alexandre*, 1676
(Courtesy New York Public Library)

10. Pietro da Cortona, *Battle of Arbela*. Rome, Capitoline Gallery (photo: Alinari)

paintings engraved for inclusion in the state-financed *Cabinet du Roi* volumes, and sent them throughout the world to advertise the greatness and the rightness of the reign of *Louis le Grand*.[50] Very aptly Desportes was to write a century later: "Alexandre le grand avoit eu le bonheur de posséder un Apelle; on peut dire que Louis le Grand méritoit d'avoir un le Brun."[51]

IV

In 1661 the forty-two-year-old LeBrun already had a considerable reputation, but his artistic ambitions were still far from fulfilled,[52] and in the *Triumphs of Alexander* he must have recognized his best opportunity to rival the great masters of the past. Indeed, these five enormous pictures, incorporating the most complex problems of invention, organization, and historical erudition, would have been an impressive challenge to the greatest of artists, but LeBrun approached them with enthusiasm and self-confidence, and he even enlarged the size of the canvases as the series expanded. The eventual inclusion in the series of three battle scenes may well be viewed as a kind of insistent attempt to invite comparison with the illustrious battle pictures of Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Raphael, from which, in fact, LeBrun drew exhaustively for inspiration. But that LeBrun's paintings fare very badly by such comparisons is far less important than the fact that the *Triumphs of Alexander* put a maximum strain on LeBrun's artistic resources, and thus represent the most complete demonstration of his stylistic postulates and artistic methods.

The motifs and compositional elements that LeBrun drew from famous Renaissance prototypes are numerous and obvious, and it would be both tedious and profitless to trace each of them to its ultimate source. But two sources for LeBrun's paintings do not belong to the customary repertory of the classicistic painter, and nothing displays more clearly LeBrun's method of utilizing materials, even those which were ostensibly alien to his aesthetic principles, than his adaptations of Sodoma's *Tent of Darius* (Fig. 2) and Pietro da Cortona's *Battle of Arbela* (Fig. 10). The first, although clearly influenced by Raphael, had no great repute in classicistic circles in the seventeenth century;[53] the second, painted in the mid-1630's, is an obvious example of what a French classicist understood as artistic "licentiousness"—a facility that pleases superficially but lacks "sound" drawing and the "considered" expression of the passions.[54] LeBrun had spent the years 1642 through 1645 in Rome and was surely familiar with both works.[55]

Sodoma's fresco (Fig. 2) was for LeBrun a more or less classic model that could be improved upon and surpassed. Although reversing its direction and placing the scene deeper in space (Fig. 1), LeBrun appropriated the general composition of Sodoma's painting without significant changes, and he adapted a number of pictorial and narrative motifs, such as the kneeling Sisigambis, isolated from the other women, the man-servant pointing to the Emperor, Alexander's gesture itself, the tent, with its peculiar "awning" supported on the branches of trees, and even the bit of landscape

lain to Colbert dated June 9, 1664, makes it clear that by this time the *Petite Académie* was dictating the content of official paintings and tapestries. But the program for at least the first "section" of the Alexander series would have already been decided upon, and it is evident from the letter that at this date LeBrun was not yet wholly adjusted to taking orders from his literary colleagues. (*Ibid.*, II, p. 362. I am indebted to Dr. Bates Lowry for this reference.) It is not improbable, however, that LeBrun, who was friendly with many literary men, formulated the program during discussions with one or more of them.

50. See above, note 9.

One might also mention the eight tapestry suites made after them in the Gobelins in the seventeenth century (M. Fenaille, *État général des tapisseries de la Manufacture des Gobelins*, Paris, 1903, II, pp. 184-185), to say nothing of those made in the ateliers of Brussels, Audenarde, Felletin, and Aubusson (Harvard and Vachon, *op.cit.*, p. 115).

51. In F. Lépicié, *Vies des premiers-peintres du roi depuis M. Le Brun jusqu'à présent*, Paris, 1752, I, pp. 2-3.

52. On LeBrun's career up to 1660 see A. Blunt, "The Early Work of Charles Lebrun," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXV, 1944, pp. 165-173, 186-194.

53. André Félibien, for instance, mentioned only Sodoma's *Alexander and Roxanne* fresco in the Farnesina, and that merely in passing. He is less interested in the man as an artist than in the origin of his name. (*Entretiens sur les vies et les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes*, Amsterdam, 1706, II, p. 146.)

54. On Cortona see the comments of the "liberal" Roger de Piles in his *Abrégé de la vie des peintres*, Paris, 1715, p. 239.

55. Cortona's painting, now in the Capitoline gallery, came from the Sacchetti collection, and was surely to be seen in Rome when LeBrun was there. (Cf. the catalogue of the *Mostra di Pietro da Cortona*, Rome, 1956, no. 27.)

with the Macedonian camp. But LeBrun strengthened the main lines of Sodoma's composition, "formalized" it we might say, with stately and rather ponderous accents. The huge flap of the fore-tent, buttressed by large trees, frames the Persian household, whose movement, in contrast to the almost aimless intricacy of Sodoma's group, is collected and directed like a long triangular wedge toward Alexander and Hephestion, who are boldly accented by the branched tree above them. The composition is enriched and further clarified by the chiaroscuro which cements the individual elements into a relief-like group of large weighted masses. The expressive rhetoric that animates the figures, who react to the moment with distinctive and suitable expressions, makes the picture read like a psychological drama,[56] and by contrast Sodoma's figures are blandly inexpressive, turning in graceful but meaningless poses.

For the late seventeenth century the *Tent of Darius* was "un veritable poëme," which had unity of action, place, and time; a poem which developed with dramatic necessity, where composition, color, chiaroscuro, and expression conspire to a single end. Perrault might almost have been speaking of Sodoma's painting when, comparing "older" pictures to LeBrun's *Tent of Darius*, he said they were like "un amas de pierres . . . jettées ensemble au hazard, qui pourroient se ranger autrement qu'elles ne sont. . . ."[57] LeBrun moreover could enrich this unity not only with a polyphony of expressive rhetoric, but also with a wealth of archaeological detail and picturesque costuming. Sodoma's painting seen alone seems richly textured, but it pales before LeBrun's luxuriance of Persian shields and quivers, antique armor, Egyptian headdresses, silks and satins, and naked flesh.

Whether he surpassed his model or not, it is certain that LeBrun gave the *Tent of Darius* a lucid and stately grandeur, an historical and picturesque splendor, and a theatrical gregariousness that suggest nothing quite so much as a spectacle on the grounds of Versailles, a not inappropriate connotation, and one which further elucidates the iconological significance of the picture.

LeBrun adhered fairly closely to the main lines of Sodoma's painting, but he so completely reworked Pietro da Cortona's *Battle of Arbela* (Figs. 6 and 10), that at first glance they hardly seem related. But closer analysis reveals that LeBrun's scheme, which sets Alexander and Darius in the second spacial plane of the picture on either side of a central axis, and such figures as the fleeing Persian in the center, the warrior in the left foreground standing triumphantly over a fallen horse and chariot, the archer at the right turning round to shoot, and the sharply foreshortened dead soldiers in the foreground, are ultimately derived from Cortona's picture.

But the changes that LeBrun made in the composition and handling of the subject are so fundamental that it seems almost as if he were consciously correcting the Baroque vision of his Italian rival. Instead of thrusting the spectator onto the field of battle, directly in the path of the rightward charge of the action, as in Cortona's painting, LeBrun places the spectator at a considerable remove from the scene, which must be viewed passively, as it were, through a crescent-shaped "frame" of figures running the width of the picture. It is most significant that the French painter represented, unlike Cortona, not the fleeing Darius, but Darius just about to turn his chariot. At this moment the Persians still face the Macedonian onslaught, and pictorially they take up and neutralize its rightward thrust. What results is a picture in which, despite apparent tumult, order and stability reign. The lucidity of LeBrun's exposition, not only of composition, but even of single figures which in contradistinction to Cortona he tends to isolate and define with linear precision, increases its narrative efficacy. One might compare the dense tangle of warriors who so magnificently express the choking violence of battle, but who do not exist as individuals, on the left of

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56. The enthusiasm of the seventeenth century for this aspect of the picture is sometimes astonishing. Félibien saw four distinct emotions in the figure of Alexander: compassion in his countenance; clemency in his open hand; favor for Hephestion in the gesture of his right hand; civility in the leg drawn slightly back (*Reines de Perse* . . . , p. 110).

57. Perrault, *Paralelle* . . . , I, pp. 226-231.

Cortona's painting, with the corresponding group in LeBrun's painting, where the details of heroism or cowardice can be separately read.

It is characteristic that LeBrun transformed the fleeing, flaxen-haired youth who adds such a poignant note to Cortona's picture into the picturesque Persian who was to become an academic paradigm of "Terror."[58] Paradoxically, the classicist LeBrun, with his armored elephants, billowing standards, exotically dressed warriors, and panoramic vista, is in the end far more picturesque than the Baroque Cortona. But it is precisely this combination of the showy and grandiose with the ordered and formal that became the distinctive style of the *siècle de Louis le Grand*.

V

I have suggested that LeBrun's *Battle of Arbela* was, in conscious contrast to Pietro da Cortona's version of the subject, in part a didactic demonstration of the method of academic classicism. One remembers that in 1661, the same year in which LeBrun got his first official commission, for the *Tent of Darius*, he and Colbert formed the "partnership" which led almost immediately to the political and artistic reorganization of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture.[59] It is not surprising therefore that the Alexander series should reflect one of LeBrun's concurrent academic preoccupations, namely the clarification and exposition of the "rules of art." Just in the period when the Alexander series was created the first group of important French art treatises was being prepared and published,[60] and in this context the paintings may be considered LeBrun's first major contribution to academic art theory, for he began lecturing in the Academy only in 1667.[61]

Although the *Tent of Darius* predates LeBrun's *conférence* on the expression of the passions by at least ten years,[62] the picture was already a fundamental statement of his theory, and it is significant that the published discourse was largely illustrated with examples drawn directly from the painting.[63] LeBrun was convinced that the systematic expression of the passions was essential to the poetic efficacy of painting, and his *Tent of Darius* seems partly intended as a compendium of paradigmatic expression-types. It was the first major attempt since Poussin's works to expand the artist's rhetorical vocabulary, although LeBrun of course did not, like Poussin, see the problem in terms of a counterpoint of gesture, but focused instead on the physiognomical equivalents of the passions.

In the battle paintings LeBrun was primarily concerned with the explanation of the principles of composition. In the *Crossing of the Granicus* (Fig. 4) his basic system is especially clear: semi-independent groups arranged around a primary motif are strung together into *coulisse*-like strips set in space at measurable intervals, with the first acting as a *repoussoir* and the second containing the dramatic focal point of the picture. Such a reduction of generalized concepts of order and clarity to a formal pragmatic system[64] is a primary characteristic of the transformation of classicism to academicism, in which LeBrun and the Alexander paintings played so large a role.

58. The head of this figure, representing the passion "terror," was used to illustrate LeBrun's treatise on expression (see below, note 62). It also appears, along with the other engravings used for the treatise, in H. Testelin, *Sentimens des plus habiles peintres*, Paris, 1680, where they were published for the first time.

59. The history of the Academy in the seventeenth century is summarized, and the main documents published, by L. Vitet, *L'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*, Paris, 1861. See also N. Pevsner, *Academies of Art*, Cambridge, 1940, pp. 82ff.

60. Fréart de Chambray's *Idée de la perfection de la peinture* was first published in 1662 (Mans). DuFresnoy's *De Arte graphica* was finished in 1665 and published in 1667 (Paris). The first parts of Félibien's *Entretiens* were published in 1666 (Paris), and near the end of the decade Félibien published the *Conférences de l'Académie royale pendant l'année*

1667 (Paris, 1669).

61. Two of LeBrun's *conférences* were held in 1667, (published in *Conférences de l'Académie . . .*, [ed. Jouin], pp. 1-11, 48-55).

62. The lectures on expression and physiognomy seem to date from after 1671 (see A. Fontaine, *Les doctrines d'art en France*, Paris, 1909, p. 68), and were first published in 1698 (Amsterdam and Paris). The treatise on physiognomy was included, and thus preserved, only in the form of a summary.

63. Four of the twelve examples of the passions illustrated in Testelin (*op.cit.*) are copied directly from the *Tent of Darius*, and one more is closely paralleled in that picture.

64. The most thorough of LeBrun's *conférences* for the exposition of his pictorial precepts was on Poussin's *Gathering of the Manna*, read on Nov. 5, 1667 (published in *Conférences de l'Académie . . .*, [ed. Jouin], pp. 48-55).

It is not necessary to enumerate all the "principles" which find expression in the *Triumphs of Alexander*. Suffice it to say that the paintings, so large in scope that they deal with almost all major pictorial problems, necessarily became didactic exempla of the Academic style, and their reputation, not unjustly, has followed the fortunes of the Academic tradition.

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NOTES

THE SCULPTURE OF THE CLOISTER OF SANTA SOFIA IN BENEVENTO*

HILDEGARDE GIESS

Perpetuis annis stat quartus fama Johannis
Per quem pastorem domus hunc habet ista decorem.

This inscription on a capital of the cloister of the former Benedictine monastery of Santa Sofia in Benevento (southern Italy) still proclaims the fame of its abbot, John IV, and attests to the fact that the sculptural decoration of the abbey was undertaken during his term of office and under his direction (Fig. 5).

The history of this monastery is closely linked with that of the town whose walls gave it shelter.[1] The splendidly preserved Arch of Trajan, the theater, and the numerous sculptural remains embedded in the walls of town houses or kept in the museum, still testify to the former importance and prosperity of the Colonia Julia Concordia Augusta Felix Beneventum which, however, was captured during the influx of the Langobards into Italy and became a dukedom. Outward mastery, secured through conquest by the sword, was followed by pious donations from the victors, who had rapidly been converted to Catholicism. After the middle of the eighth century, Gisolphus founded a church which he dedicated to the Holy Wisdom (Santa Sofia).[2] A convent of the same name was added and placed under the jurisdiction of Monte Cassino. In 774, Arecchi II, whose sister was abbess of Santa Sofia, provided the convent with a rich endowment, to which his descendants added.[3] In the tenth century, however, the abbey was inhabited by monks who, as numerous papal bulls testify, attempted to gain independence from Monte Cassino. In the middle of the eleventh century Benevento became a papal possession and except for short periods of time remained so until its incorporation into the Italian state in 1860.

The town served the popes as an important bulwark against the rapid expansion of the Normans in the eleventh century and in later conflicts with the Hohen-staufen emperors. Benevento was also occasionally a papal seat.[4] It is therefore not surprising that the popes attempted to secure the good will of their subjects by means of a mild rule and the granting of privileges. In 1159, a Bull of Alexander III gave official recognition to the unconditional independence of Santa Sofia. The document confirms the possessions of the abbey of Monte Cassino but no longer lists our monastery among them.[5] The abbott of Santa Sofia during this time was John IV. His signature is found on documents from 1142 to 1176 and is accompanied by the title "cardinalis presbiter" after 1164.[6] The monastery surely owed its long-sought independence to the efforts and influence of this extraordinary man, and it is to him that the above-mentioned donor inscription refers.[7]

In the course of the mortal struggle between pope and emperor during the thirteenth century, Benevento changed hands several times and seems to have suffered considerable destruction. In the following centuries Benevento was cut off from its natural hinterland by political boundaries and thus lost more and more of its original importance. Severe earthquakes destroyed many of its buildings and although the large property holdings of the monastery of Santa Sofia still provided the holders of the title of Abate Commendatore with a welcome source of revenue, the number of monks continued to decrease and their mode of life to deteriorate. In 1595 the Benedictines were replaced by the "Canonici regolari della congregazione di San Salvatore dell'ordine di Sant' Agostino" who, in turn, were followed by the Fratelli delle scuole cristiane in 1834. In 1928-1929 intelligent restoration removed unsightly later additions from the monastery and its incorporation into the museum of Samnium, now under renovation, assures its future survival.[8]

The ground plan of the cloister of Santa Sofia departs from the usual square form at the south corner where the outer wall is cut off by the projecting church (text figure).[9] The corresponding corner of the inner wall has been inverted so that it projects in toward

* Translated by Kathleen Weill-Garris.

1. For the history of Benevento, see E. Isernia, *Istoria della città di Benevento*, Benevento, 1875. This includes a list of sources. Some of these are compiled by M. Ferrante "Chiesa e chiostro di S. Sofia in Benevento," *Samnium*, XXV, May-August 1952, pp. 70-91.

2. The chronicle of Monte Cassino of Leo Ostiense, bk. I, ch. 6; Wattenbach, *Monumenta germaniae historica*, VII, p. 584.

3. See *Chronicon Ecclesiae S. Sophia*, Bibl. Vat. MS. Vat. lat. 4939.

4. See Stefano Borgia, *Memorie istoriche della pontificia città di Benevento*, Part Three, I, Rome, 1769, p. 155: "Ed oltre ciò per certi ed indubitati documenti sappiamo, che ritornato Alessandro in Roma nel 1167, e trovate quivi le cose ancor inquiete e sconvolte, scelse per sua dimora la città di Benevento, dove tranquillamente tenne la Sede Apostolica dal 1167 fino al 1170."

5. See Borgia, *Memorie istoriche*, Rome, 1763, I, p. 246.

6. A. Zazo, "I beni della badia di Santa Sofia," *Samnium*, XXIX, July-Sept. 1956, p. 147 n. 112.

7. For a long time it was impossible to identify the John IV mentioned in the donor's inscription. See A. Meomarti, *I monumenti e le opere d'arte della città di Benevento*, Benevento, 1889, pp. 379-380. Finally, however, a successful identification was made by A. Zazo, "L'abate Giovanni IV, alter conditor del chiostro di S. Sofia a Benevento," *Samnium*, X, July-December 1937, pp. 238-239. The signature which was illustrated in facsimile, reads "Ego qui supra Johannes quartus abbas sancte Sophie."

8. I should like to take this opportunity to thank Prof. A. Zazo, director of the museum, for his friendly cooperation, his great kindness and for his continued encouragement of every aspect of my work.

9. Sculptures not illustrated here will be referred to by the numbering on text fig. 1.

the center of the court. It is opened on its southeast face by a quadriforium and on the southwest by a triforium. These two join the regular quadriforia of the adjoining sides at right angles. This disposition of the arches results in a number of particularly attractive vistas (Figs. 1 and 2).

One's lasting impression of the cloister of Santa Sofia is determined not so much by the quality of the individual parts, for this varies, as by the relationship between wall and wall openings and by the rich and well thought-out articulation of the columns which carry the graceful horseshoe arches.[10] The harmony of proportions, the lightness and elegance of the parts, are emphasized and mutually enhanced by the colorful shadows and flooding light of the southern sun.

Four-cornered or octagonal plinths form the transition between the low wall and the column bases which are composed of a scotia between two tori. The shafts themselves rise with gentle entasis and are crowned with capitals round at the base and becoming square as they meet the abacus which, in turn, is connected by the impost block with the soffit of the springing. The latter is a rectangular form of which the length is equal to the width of the low supporting wall beneath it.[11] The intrados of the fourth quadriforium which projects in toward the court on the south side, still shows the remains of frescoes (Fig. 13). They consist of a row of adjoining quatrefoils or other circular or segmental patterns with curled leaves like those found in Italian manuscripts of the thirteenth century.[12]

The material used for the bases, capitals, and impost blocks is a discolored limestone, originally white, native to the region of Benevento.[13] The majority of the column shafts are carved out of white marble flecked or veined with black. Eight columns of red and white or black and white granite and two double serpentine or knotted columns are placed centrally in the quadriforia of the southeast, southwest, and northwest wings. Their symmetrical disposition is evidence that they were carved before the decoration of the cloister began. This also seems to be true for a number of the column bases, for their diameter does not correspond to that of the

column shafts. Most of the bases belong to the Attic type common since late antiquity. Only a few are of the Lombard Romanesque griffe form. At two symmetrical points of the cloister, in the northwest and in the southeast wing, bases have been made out of former impost blocks. Their original rectangular shape has been so altered that they now resemble inverted cube capitals. The workmanship is excellent and shows certain analogies with the other impost blocks (Fig. 2, left foreground).[14]

Some of the capitals are badly damaged and a number of them were partly reworked at a later date (Figs. 6, 9). The types mostly derive from antique forms which were available to Campanian and specially Beneventan artisans throughout the Middle Ages.[15] Byzantine influence is noticeable in the use of pointed acanthus leaves and severe damage does not obscure the fact that the "windswept acanthus" type is represented on one of the capitals (no. 18).[16]

The capitals have been thought to be antique.[17] However, a comparison with the capital bearing the inscription (Fig. 5) shows no significant differences between it and the other capitals which imitate antique forms, either in regard to individual parts or in their relationship to the form as a whole. This dry and brittle treatment of the foliage is entirely unantique. Plastic treatment of plant forms is really noticeable only in two of the capitals, those crowning the double columns (Figs. 4, 25). Their unusual serpentine and knotted forms suggest that they and their capitals may have been prized imports or donations, possibly from north Italy.[18]

The transformation of the antique type by the influence of Langobard art is evident in one of the capitals of the quadriforium which projects into the court (Fig. 13). However, its forms are too aggressively plastic, despite a certain peculiar softness, to allow us to date this capital in the eighth century as does Cataneo.[19] It must rather be included in a group represented throughout the Campania which should in all probability be dated around the thirteenth century.[20]

Only a few of the capitals show forms first developed

10. Concerning the use of the horseshoe arch in south Italy, see H. M. Schwarz, "Die Baukunst Kalabriens und Siziliens im Zeitalter der Normannen," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, VI, 1942-1944, p. 79 n. 181.

11. For the elevation of a quadriforium, see M. Ferrante, *loc.cit.* The dimensions are as follows: the height of the wall from the present day floor level, ca. 50 cm; the distance from the crown of the arch down to the wall, ca. 215 cm; the intercolumniation, ca. 95 cm; the length of the wall between the quadriforia, ca. 120 cm.

12. See e.g. Graf zu Erbach Fürstenau, *Die Manfredbibel*, Leipzig, 1910, pl. III. We cannot agree with Lavagnino's suggestion that these fresco remnants betray Muslim influences. See E. Lavagnino, *Enciclopedia italiana*, VI, 1930, p. 629.

13. Verbal communication from Prof. Rusconi, Benevento, September 1956.

14. The column base (no. 16) in the southeast wing depicts a grapevine with birds and resembles an impost block of the northeast wing in style. The base in the northwest wing bears the same motif, by the same hand, as the broad side of a newly discovered fragment of an impost block in the museum of

Santa Sofia.

15. e.g. the antique corinthian-type capital used in the church of Santa Sofia. See also the composite capitals on the Arch of Trajan.

16. Capitals with windswept acanthus are also found on the pulpit of the Badia Santissima Trinità at La Cava dei Tirreni (1147-1170) and on the ambo of the cathedral of Salerno (1175). See C. D. Sheppard, Jr., "A Chronology of Romanesque Sculpture in Campania," ART BULLETIN, XXXII, 1950, pp. 320-321, fig. 1 and Anderson photo 17422.

17. See E. Bertaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale*, Paris, 1905, p. 476: "Chapiteaux disparates, pris à des édifices de l'époque romaine où de l'époque lombarde."

18. For the significance, use and distribution of the knotted column, see K. Clasen, "Die Überwindung des Bösen," *Neue Beiträge deutscher Forschung, Wilhelm Worringer zum 60. Geburtstag*, Königsberg, 1943, pp. 21ff.

19. R. Cattaneo, *L'Architecture en Italie du VI° au XI° siècle*. Venice, 1890, p. 149.

20. This was also the opinion of the late H. M. Schwarz, with whom I discussed the matter in the Fall of 1956. A frag-
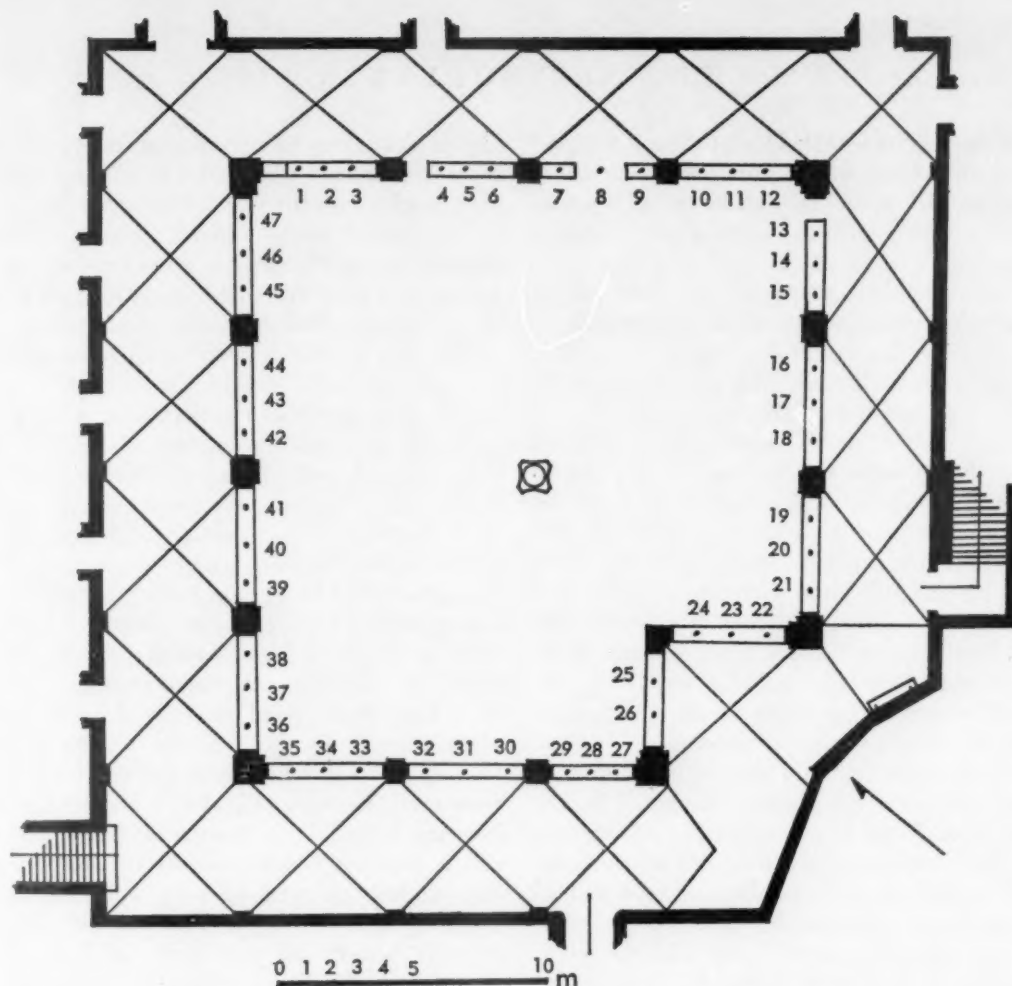
Benevento, Cloister of Santa Sofia, plan*
(after M. Ferrante, *Samnium*, xxv, March-Aug. 1952, p. 72)

1. C with inscription; I: vegetal ornaments (Fig. 5)
2. C: eagle and gryphon with prey, a lion with a human being; I: four stags and a centaur
3. I: addorsed birds and vines
4-6. I: little star pattern and fluting (Fig. 3)
7. I: donkey attacked by beast of prey, a seated monster with little human figures, two hooved animals, a plant (Fig. 20)
8. I: lion overcoming a hooved, maned animal; vines
9. I: fishtailed siren, two men with spears, bows and arrows, attacking lions and winged, fishtailed monster
10. I: lion mask with grape vines (Fig. 6)
11. I: four elephants and their riders; a nude and a clothed woman (Figs. 7 and 14)
12. I: foliage, fluting, a gryphon (Fig. 19)
13. I: lion mask with rinçeaux
14. I: hunting scenes (Fig. 18)
15. I: lion's head with vines
16. Column base: part of an impost block (reused); C: four winged dragons entwined; I: vines, lion mask, animals with joined heads (Fig. 10)
17. I: vines, dog's head
18. C: windblown acanthus; I: vines, rosette
19. I: Samson and the lion, fighting animals, two horsemen in combat, a bishop picking flowers (Fig. 15)
20. I: two gryphons with stag, two cows, imp's mask, a man with a cross (Fig. 9)
21. I: October, November, December, dromedary with its driver, fluting
22. C: four-winged monsters with necks entwined, two naked and two clothed riders; I: four caryatids, elephants and their riders in combat with beasts of prey (Fig. 16)
23. I: the vintage, September, an acanthus leaf
24. I: cow with two calves, peacocks and a vase, an eagle with a calf in its talons, August (Fig. 13)
25. I: July, dog's mask with vines, beast of prey
26. I: June, grapevine, birds
27. I: a man with sword and shield attacked by a unicorn; animals fighting each other
28. I: lamb with halo (cross) and staff cross, two lions with a stag, cow with two calves, eagle with a calf (Fig. 22)
29. I: four winged dragons and their riders (Fig. 17)
30-32. I: later imitations
33. C (badly damaged): remnants of busts representing angels; I: a monster with a calf in its claws, lioness with two suckling cubs, the head of a hooved animal, an acanthus leaf
34. A rider with a hound pursuing a wild boar, a rider and dragon in combat, two riders in combat, a centaur with a lance
35. C: Annunciation, Visitation; I: Annunciation to the Shepherds, Nativity, Adoration of the Kings, Presentation in the Temple
36. I: small star pattern, fluting
37. I: unicorn and lion with cow, pouncing beasts of prey, birds
38. I: man grasping the head and tail of serpent wound around his body, two men in combat with dragons, two fighting rams
39. I: an evangelist between lion and bull, an evangelist between angel and eagle, two seraphim (Fig. 4)
40. I: walking lions and gryphons (Fig. 4)
41. I: man attacking a lion which is carrying off a calf, gryphon with deer, lion overcoming two dogs, two winged monsters with entwined necks
42. I: grapevines, walking lions
43. I: Terra suckling cow and serpent, a man kneeling on the back of a stag (Hercules?), a faun who has abducted a woman, two stags (Fig. 25)
44. Column base: reworked impost block with vine motif; C: four winged serpents with entwined necks and four, naked, longhaired riders; I: centaur and faun abducting a naked woman, two centaurs with stag's heads in combat; two centaurs armed with sword and shield, bow and arrow; an angel stands upon a serpent and thrusts his spear between its jaws (Michael?) (Fig. 12)
45. I: Rider with hounds on a lion hunt, an eagle with a calf, two lions and two does, a stag and a hound
46. I: Doe suckling her calf, dogs, stags
47. I: male and female centaurs, centaur with sword and shield, dogs, stag (Fig. 24)

* C indicates capital; I impost block.

during the Romanesque period. One of these is a capital on the northwest wing where slim helices decorated with a bead-thread motif rise above four vigorous acanthus leaves which form the corners of the capital (Fig. 24).

Figural representations supported by a wreath of acanthus—another motif going back to late antiquity—appear in a final group of capitals (Figs. 10, 12, 16). However these must be discussed in connection with the impost blocks with which they are associated.

The capitals vary in size. They do not always fit the shafts of the columns and correspond only rarely to the impost blocks above them which, in turn, do not often fit the springings of the arches. Thus the imposts fulfill their articulating function only incompletely. Such discrepancies among individual parts of a building are usually found where elements already in existence had to be taken into account; where older portions were to be used again. Now the building history of the monastery of Santa Sofia has by no means been investigated thoroughly nor is it our intention to do so here. It is impossible to say whether or not the present disposition of the arches in the cloister originated in the time of the abbot John. For earthquakes or wartime destruction, for instance, could have led to the construction of an entirely new building or to a radical renovation of the cloister in the thirteenth century. Here, however, we are concerned only with the sculptural decoration of the impost blocks. We wish to investigate their structure, the influences which contributed to their creation and, finally, to give the broadest possible consideration to stylistic, iconographic, and historical factors, in order to arrive at a suggestion for the dating.

Impost blocks in the form of double consoles that serve to connect a thick body of masonry with an often almost dainty column were already used in Italy during the early Middle Ages. They can be found in galleries, in cloisters, and above all, in church towers,[21] and often in south Italy they take over the function of the capital.[22] The form of these imposts varies. Those in the cloister of Santa Sofia are variations of two major forms: they are the inverted frustum of a rectangular pyramid whose lateral sides may be either planar or spherical. This means that the corners and faces of the

impost blocks may be curved or straight; that the larger faces are always trapezoidal while the smaller faces may be either rectangular or trapezoidal.

The impost blocks also vary greatly in size and in state of preservation and in three examples it is possible to establish that the stone was damaged even before its sculptural decoration was undertaken.[23] Perhaps stones from Roman monuments or undecorated impost blocks from earlier buildings were used.

The first impost of the northwest wing (no. 36) is unusually small and the surface of one of its long sides was left rough and unfinished. This block together with three others of higher quality in the second quadriforium of the northeast wing (nos. 4, 5, 6) form a group having the most antiquated kind of decoration. Their short sides are carved in antique fluting, their long sides in a star pattern (Fig. 3). This abstract ornament goes back to "barbaric" chip-carved patterns as they are found on Migration art bronze brooches.[24] A fragment of a Langobard relief probably datable early in the ninth century in the museum of the Cathedral of Salerno shows that the use of this motif was transferred from metal to stone (Fig. 8).[25] This type of ornament is characterized by a regular series of protuberances and depressions which result in an alternation of light and shadow. A predominantly coloristic rather than a plastic effect is sought. The star pattern must have enjoyed widespread popularity in Italy during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.[26]

When this kind of decoration is employed, each side of the impost block is treated as a separate entity. Strongly emphasized edges define the unbroken silhouette and, at the same time, form the boundaries of the fields to be decorated. The same principles govern the second and numerically largest group of these imposts.[27] Now the edges become narrow moldings which frame the depressed surface from which ornaments and figural representations spring in vigorous relief. Other impost blocks of this structure are to be found in the museum of Santa Sofia. Two imposts in the museum of Monte Vergine from the cloister of the church consecrated in 1182 and a fragment formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin have already been attributed by us to the same workshop, which must be responsible for most of the impost blocks at Santa Sofia.[28]

ment of a similar capital is preserved in the museum of Benevento. Other capitals belonging to this group are in the Capua Museum; in the campanile of San Salvatore a Corte, in Capua; Ravello, Villa Cimbrone (reused).

21. Earliest dated example: church tower of Ivrea, between 973 and 1005. For other early examples, see W. Biehl, *Toskanische Plastik*, Leipzig, 1926, pls. 3c and 3b.

22. See also such examples as the crypt of the Cathedral of Sant'Agata dei Goti.

23. The same is true of an impost block in the southeast wing (no. 21), where the inscription "Decemver" is placed so that it avoids a chipped portion of the block. This can be seen again in the carving of the acanthus leaves on capitals in the southwest and the northwest wings. The most common measurements in centimeters of the impost blocks are: base, 18 x 18 or 22 x 24; upper surfaces, ca. 25 x 69, height ca. 18.

24. See A. Riegl, *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, Vienna, 1927,

fig. 80, pl. XIX, no. 4.

25. A further pre-Romanesque example is to be found on a fragment of sculpture in San Clemente a Guardiagrele. See I. Gavini, *Storia dell'Architettura in Abbruzzo*, Milan-Rome, 1927, I, fig. 12, 10th century? A Spanish pre-Romanesque example is illustrated in E. Bague, *La alta edad medio*, Barcelona, 1953, p. 213, fig. 19.

26. H. M. Schwarz, *loc.cit.*, pp. 65-67, once thought he recognized Norman motifs in this ornament but later, as he himself informed me, changed his opinion.

27. Out of a total of 47 impost blocks 28 belong to this group as well as the impost block which was made simultaneously with the capital and which bears the donor's inscription.

28. See H. Giess, "Capitelli romanici a Montevergine," *Commentari*, VII, 1957, fasc. I, pp. 27-30. There were particularly close connections between Montevergine and Bene-

1. South corner of the cloister of Santa Sofia in Benevento
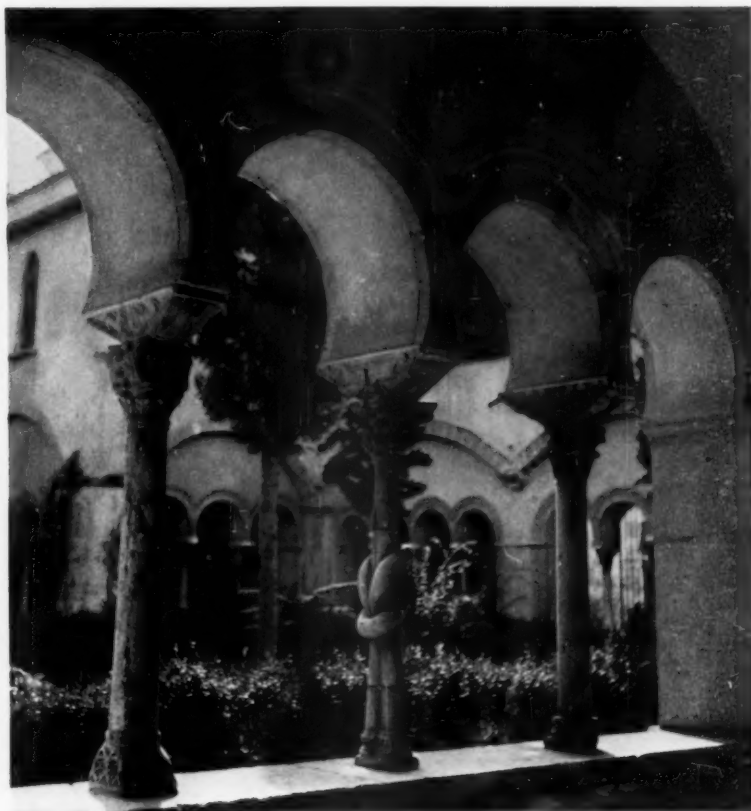
2. The arcades of the northwest wing

3. The arcades of the northeast wing

4. Impost blocks and capitals from the cloister of Santa Sofia

5-7. Impost blocks and capitals from the cloister of Santa Sofia

8. Fragment of Langobard stone plaque
Salerno, Museum of the Cathedral

9. Impost blocks and capitals from the
cloister of Santa Sofia

11. Newly discovered fragment of an impost block. Museum of Santa Sofia

10. Impost blocks and capitals
from the cloister of Santa Sofia

12-13. Capitals and impost blocks from the cloister of Santa Sofia

14

15

16

17

18

19

14-19. Capitals and impost blocks from the cloister of Santa Sofia

21. Capital from the crypt of San Nicola in Bari

20. Capital and impost block
from the cloister of Santa Sofia

23. Relief near the center window of the east choir. Piacenza, Cathedral
(photo: Marburg)

22. Impost block from the
cloister of Santa Sofia

24-25. Capitals and impost blocks from the cloister of Santa Sofia

26. Terra, Codex Cas. 132. (photo: Montecassino Library)

The forerunner of this group is to be found, we believe, in an impost capital with figural representations in the crypt of the Cathedral of Sant'Agata dei Goti which Bertaux dates convincingly in the first quarter of the twelfth century.[29] In both cases, framed trapezoidal fields are filled with representations. However, in the example from Sant'Agata, the figures seem to free themselves from the block only with difficulty and their relationship to the frame is still rather loose and uncertain. The Benevento-Monte Vergine group is, on the contrary, remarkable for the organic plasticity of the relief, the well-balanced relationship to the background, the careful contrasts of light and shade and the taut relation between the figures and the frame. The very fact that the block is divided into four fields for decoration imposes a relief-like character on the sculpture. However, on the short sides of the Monte Vergine imposts and of some of the Santa Sofia examples, human and animal heads actually project beyond the profile of their frames and thus come close to being sculpture in the round (Fig. 9). When compared with Sant'Agata dei Goti, these works make the progress in the conquest of haptic values particularly clear.

"La loi du cadre," that is, the problem of placing figures within the frame determined by the architecture so that they fill the limited space provided for them between the background and surface planes, so that the relationship of outline and background is harmonious—this is the central problem of all Romanesque sculpture of the twelfth century. Earlier and qualitatively better solutions than those at Benevento are to be found in northern Italy. For instance, a comparison with the architectural sculpture of the choir window of the Cathedral of Piacenza leaves no doubt that north Italian experiences provided the basis for the work of the Beneventan workshop (Figs. 22, 23).[30]

The quality of individual pieces of the architectural sculpture in Benevento varies considerably. The fragment of an impost block, discovered only recently during the renovation of the monastery but which must originally have belonged in the cloister, gives the clearest indication for the style of the best productions of the workshop (Fig. 11).[31] The figures are set into the trapezoidal frames so that their forms are, to a great extent, determined by it. The figures are represented frontally or in profile with clear, smooth contours and unbroken surfaces. An ornamental tendency which leads to the doubling of motifs and to the symmetrical placement of figures is noticeable in a number of the impost blocks. At the same time, however, the representation of animals in these examples is relatively naturalistic, that is, the organic relationship of the parts of the body is taken into account; a certain impression of corporeality is sought. Of course this does not exclude the schematic treatment, the stylization of individual parts such as the hair and the ears. This impost block remains, even at best, only of second quality. It lacks differentiation and is deficient in any real stylistic intention; nor can the naïve vital joy felt in the act of representation itself, make up for this.

This type of impost block with straight edges and four fields contrasts with another group in which the rigid frames have disappeared and the figures are arranged around an invisible core so that they do not project beyond an ideal boundary. The long fields of one of the imposts in the northeast wing of the cloister, are each taken up by two elephants (no. 11). A rider wearing a short cape floating out behind him is astride each one (Fig. 14). The heads of these pachyderms have been broken off but, together with the forelegs, they originally formed the diagonal boundaries of the block. One of the narrow faces depicts a woman who anxiously gathers the folds of her garment about her with both hands (Fig. 7) while the other narrow side shows an entirely nude woman. The flying corners of the first woman's headdress and the flying hair and outstretched hands of the second, echo the curving lines of the impost block itself.

In these examples, the figure begins to free itself from the surrounding mass and, by pose and contours, actually determines the shape of the block. The principle governing this type is again evidence for the adoption of "northern" elements. They are, however, not new to southern Italy. Four lions stride around the sides of a capital in Venosa so that each of their heads forms a kind of corner boss while their bodies screen the surfaces.[32] This capital belongs to a whole group of south Italian architectural sculpture which is attributed either to "northern" masters or to masters trained in "northern traditions" by which is meant particularly southern French and Lombard sculpture. We may assume that the work of these men exerted some influence on native sculptors, that provincial workshops benefited from their instruction and transformed foreign motifs and methods for their own purposes. It is impossible to decide at this point whether the workshop at Benevento was still under this kind of indirect influence, or whether it was affected by a fresh influx of northern ideas. However, the existence of such possibilities should at least be suggested.[33]

vento because of the church which was under the authority of the former institution, namely the priory of SS. Filippo e Giacomo in Benevento. Cf. Borgia, loc.cit., I, p. 179.

29. E. Bertaux, "Sant'Agata dei Goti," Napoli nobilissima, V, 1896, p. 6. For illustrations, see Giess, loc.cit.

30. The sculpture of the east window of the Cathedral of Piacenza was carved between 1140 and ca. 1150. See G. de Francovich, Benedetto Antelami, Milan-Florence, 1952, p. 24.

31. The motif of animals "joined together" is used in a very similar manner on one of the impost blocks of the south wing (Fig. 10). This impost, incidentally, has the same measurements as the newly discovered impost block fragment.

32. See M. Wackernagel, Die Plastik des XI und XII Jh. in Apulien, Leipzig, 1911, p. 46, fig. 11. Date: first quarter of the 12th century. The impost blocks of Benevento and the other capitals which are grouped together by Wackernagel, are also similar in the forms of the facial type and of the treatment of the hair. Compare, for instance, the woman's head from Benevento (no. 11, Fig. 7) with the heads of the angels on the archivolts of Monopoli, Wackernagel, loc.cit., fig. 10a.

33. See F. Volbach, "Sculture medioevale della Campania," Atti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia e Storia dell'

The walking lion motif which appears on several such south Italian capitals "under northern influence,"[34] is also to be found in Benevento on one of the impost blocks of the northwest wing (no. 40). There, to be sure, the lions and the gryphons opposite them as well as the elephants on the example already discussed, are arranged in addorsed pairs.[35] Their bodies take up the long as well as the short sides of the block (Fig. 4).

An even more pronounced degree of interpenetration of the architectural block with the sculpture characterizes a capital of very high quality in the southeast wing of Santa Sofia. Four winged dragons with intertwined necks and tails writhe above a tier of acanthus leaves (Fig. 16, no. 22). The two nude and the two clothed men astride these beasts press their heads against the corners of the abacus in such a way that their contours come to resemble those of the volutes on a Corinthian-type capital. Simplified and less excellent imitations of this capital are to be found in the northwest and southeast wings of the cloister (nos. 44 and 16). One of the impost blocks of the southwest wing is also composed of four dragons with male and female riders (Fig. 17, no. 29). Such winged monsters are known to us in north Italian architectural sculpture where their complexly intertwined bodies determine the structure of the capital in much the same way. The sculpture of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro in Pavia and of SS. Savino and Eufemia in Piacenza are particularly close to that of Benevento.[36]

Another impost block on the southwest side of the cloister shows a further "northern" motif which had, however, been native to southern Italy for some time.[37] Four men in loincloths hold in their upraised hands a rope that runs around the upper edge of the impost block (no. 22). These figures form the corners and the boundaries of the larger fields, which are filled with representations on a very much smaller scale: elephants and their riders fight against wild animals (Fig. 16). To this example may be added an impost block in the southeast wing (no. 19). There the symmetry of the previous work is replaced by a certain negligent elegance in the interpenetration of the most diverse motifs (Fig. 15). The figures of Samson fighting the lion follow the basket-shaped profile of the block closely. Next to this group, a mitred bishop picks disproportionately large flowers from a bush which grows over the corner of the block. Behind this, little riders do battle with bow and arrow, while two large fighting monsters round off the composition at the side. The delicate proportions and the activity of these little figures, dis-

tantly recall the more distinguished sculpture of Campanian pulpits such as the smaller ambo in Salerno.[38]

The problem of representing various scenes from the Life of Christ in such a limited space is, however, not well solved in the southwest wing of Santa Sofia (no. 35). Despite severe damage, the Annunciation and the Visitation are still recognizable on the capital while the Nativity, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Kings, and the Presentation in the Temple are depicted on the impost block.[39]

The encroachment of motifs from the long to the short sides and vice versa was typical of the last group of examples discussed. The impost block is no longer seen as the base and continuation of the arch above it as it had been in the first groups. The impost is treated now as an independent object for decoration. The decoration of one of the blocks in the northeast wing (no. 10) is even further removed from Romanesque-architectonic thought. The impost is surrounded by grapevines and grapes rendered in low relief and springing from an animal mask (Fig. 6). Two other examples with similar decoration whose planar side faces have been covered by a network of rinceaux, are found in the southeast wing (nos. 13 and 15).

A final group is formed by the impost blocks on which the decorative motifs are applied to concave backgrounds. Crudely powerful animals and monsters pursue each other or are attacked by hunters (Figs. 18, 20, nos. 7, 14, 8 and 9). The majority of motifs involving animals pursuing each other are native to northern Italy where they are usually made more subservient to the requirements of the architectonic frame. Nevertheless, such motifs are already present in southern Italy at a very early date. A comparison of a capital from the crypt of Santa Nicola in Bari with an impost block from Benevento is instructive (Fig. 21).[40] For, the tendency of the Beneventan sculptures to free themselves from the background and to become independent shows the distance in time which separates the two works.

One of the impost blocks of the east corner of the cloister stands out among the other groups of sculpture discussed. Its forms are more taut, more severely architectonic and its narrower sides are concave. A vigorously plastic gryphon projects from one of these (Fig. 19). The beast is so beautifully stylized that it is comparable to the fabulous creatures who guard the east window of San Nicola in Bari. The large fields of the Benevento example feature a plant motif which corresponds to a similar motif on an impost capital in

Arte, Rendiconti, 1936, p. 95: "anche nella scultura la Puglia fornisce molti esempi alla Campania, comprese alcuni motivi proveniente del nord o da Bisanzio."

34. See Wackernagel, *op.cit.* pp. 46-47. Naturally this does not mean that the motif of the walking lion, as such, is northern.

35. An impost capital of similar form, composed of two pairs of lions, to be dated in the last quarter of the 12th century, is preserved in the Potenza museum.

36. See E. Arslan, "Note sulla scultura romanica pavese,"

Bolletino d'Arte, XL, 1955, fig. 11, and E. Kluckhohn and W. Paatz, "Die Bedeutung Italiens für die romanische Baukunst und Bauornamentik in Deutschland," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft,* XVI, 1955, figs. 10, 16, 48, 49, 50.

37. See Wackernagel, *op.cit.,* p. 43, figs. VIIIb, IXf, XXIIa and b.

38. To be dated 1152-1181, see Sheppard, *op.cit.,* p. 321.

39. The impost block and the capital are exceptional in that they are carved from a single block of stone.

40. The crypt was consecrated in 1089.

the dwarf gallery of the same church in Bari.[41] This impost block, or so we believe, already brings us a good deal closer to the art of the thirteenth century.

Finally, the three impost blocks in the southwest wing must belong to a later period (nos. 30, 31, and 32). Their execution is so feeble and insipid that they may be explained as an obvious effort to repeat forms which no longer corresponded to the spirit of the times. However it is impossible to date them with any real certainty.

If we now turn our attention from the structure and style of the sculpture of Benevento to its iconography, we must begin by stating that there can be no question of an actual decorative program. Ornament and figural representations follow one upon the other. No rule governs the alternation between sacred and profane representations. Only one Old Testament scene is depicted: Samson grips the lion with both legs while pulling the animal's jaws asunder (Fig. 15, no. 19). New Testament scenes are found on a capital and impost blocks of the southwest wing (no. 35). The symbols of the four Evangelists are depicted on the broad sides of a block on the northwest wing (Fig. 4, no. 39). Two seraphim keep watch on the short sides. An angel who must be St. Michael—his shrine is located not too far away on Monte Gargano—thrusts his lance between the jaws of a serpent (no. 44). The bishop picking flowers on the South face of the impost (Fig. 15, no. 19) probably originates in a local legend. The apocalyptic Lamb (no. 28), the eagle and other Christian symbols, i.e. peacocks drinking out of a vase (no. 24), belong to a widespread repertory of motifs (Figs. 13, 22). The representation of Terra (no. 43), Mother Earth, at whose bosom the bull and the serpent are nourished, on the contrary, belongs to a rather rare type which is known only from three manuscripts originating in Monte Cassino (Figs. 25, 26).[42] A comparison of the miniature and the relief shows that the carver took pains to adjust his forms to the trapezoidal shape of the impost block. The sculptor who depicted the abduction of a woman by a centaur on the narrow side of an impost (no. 44) was, however, less successful. For lack of space, a faun who assists in the proceedings is squeezed rather pitifully into the upper corner of the picture field (Fig. 12).

A whole series of fabulous creatures such as centaurs, gryphons, mermaids, and unicorns were taken over from antiquity (nos. 2, 9, 20, 27, 33, 34, 40, 44, and 47). A little man kneels on the back of a stag and reaches for the animal's antlers although his arm is now broken off (no. 43). This group must go back to

an antique representation of Hercules overcoming the Ceryneian hind. Ornamental antique motifs such as scrolls, acanthus leaves, and rosettes are also used.

The Lombard dragons and monsters are accompanied by representations of animals such as the successful rendering of a dromedary and its driver (no. 21), whose "naturalness" surely connects them with the Mediterranean world.

A small, self-contained cycle is formed by the impost blocks depicting the labors of the months (nos. 21, 23, 24, 25, 26): in June, the cutting of grain; in July, threshing; in August, picking of fruit; in September, pressing the grapes; in October, harvesting of field crops or olives; in November, sowing; in December, pig carried to the slaughter. The months from January to May are missing. These representations fit both thematically and formally entirely within the framework of the Italian cycles. However in the month of September, the man who pours the grapes into the press has closer parallels in French art.[43] The cycles which are closest to the Benevento sculptures are: a relief in the baptistry of Pisa, miniatures in two Italian manuscripts; one in Florence (Laur. Acqu.e Doni 181), the other in Vienna (Hofbibliothek 1137) and, finally, a floor mosaic in Otranto.[44]

Other secular scenes depict the vintage (no. 23), scenes of the knightly life, of hunting (no. 14), of battle against human or monstrous antagonists (nos. 19, 27, 34, 41, 45). A conscious opposition of good and evil, of vice and virtue, can be observed on two of the capitals (nos. 11 and 20). The nude woman on the short side of one of the imposts in the northeast wing corresponds to the representation on the other side of a woman who hides her nakedness as she anxiously gathers the folds of her robe about her (Fig. 7). A grimacing devil's mask with shaggy hair is placed opposite the bust of a man who holds the cross of salvation (Fig. 9).

Certainly the arrangement of these sculptures is in general without plan and they owe their existence to the common motival vocabulary of a group of provincial artisans rather than to a vital struggle to body forth an idea. In the last analysis, however, they do reflect the mediaeval conception of a world where man lives between the supernatural and the demonic where, in the midst of all Creation, he prays, works, and fights to assert his right to existence.

Many diverse and intermingled influences contributed to the genesis of the sculptures of the cloister of Santa Sofia. Among these, the role of north Italian sculpture is surely of first importance. This theory was,

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41. The East window and the dwarf gallery of San Nicola in Bari were built after 1178. See R. Krautheimer, "San Nicola in Bari und die apulische Architektur des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, IX, 1934, p. 34.

42. These are, the two Exultet rolls in Rome, Bibl. Vat. MS. Vat. Barb. lat. 952 and in London, Brit. Mus., MS. Add. 303-377, reproduced by M. Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, II, Princeton University Press, 1937, pls. XLVIII and XIV. A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte italiana*, III, Milan, 1904,

p. 362, pointed out this connection. However the Benevento sculpture is even closer to a representation of Terra in a manuscript preserved at Monte Cassino and written before 1023: Cod. Cas. 132, Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo." Miss J. Wettstein was kind enough to bring this reference to my attention.

43. I.e., a relief on a pier in Souvigny, reproduced by J. C. Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Medieval Art*, Princeton, 1938, pl. XLIX.

44. See Webster, *op.cit.*, catalogue nos. 32, 46.

indeed, accepted by art historians generally although it remained somewhat vague and was not yet supported by comparisons and examples.[45] We have tried to remedy this situation and to go further, finding parallels with south Italian sculpture as well as pointing out the extraordinary melange of Byzantine, Langobard, and French forms.

The adoption and amalgamation of the most diverse stylistic directions, continuation of antiquated motifs, middling and even occasionally poor quality; all these are characteristics which point to a provincial workshop. We believe that this atelier must have been native to the region where the greatest number of its works have been found, that is, in south Italy and specifically in Campania.

The donor's inscription gives us an important indication as to the date. We believe that the largest part of the sculptured impost blocks in the cloister of Santa Sofia originated in the last years of the term of abbot John IV; that is, between 1170 and 1180. In fact, all of these impost blocks represent the survival of motifs and of stylistic elements originating in the first half of the twelfth century. However comparisons with examples from this period point up a tendency in the individual figures of the Beneventan examples to free themselves from the background and to become independent. These qualities are more nearly characteristic for the second half of the twelfth century.

A date in the first half of the twelfth century has been suggested by Bertaux, Venturi, Toesca, Lavagnino and Rotili.[46] Perhaps they arrived at this conclusion because they overestimated the importance of north Italian influences. On the other hand, L. Cochetti sees in the sculpture of Santa Sofia an outgrowth of the art of the circle around Antelami. For this reason she would date the Benevento sculptures after the first quarter of the thirteenth century.[47] However it seems to us that the evidence she brings forth does not warrant this conclusion.

Volbach[48] believes that the impost blocks of Santa Sofia date "most probably from the end of the twelfth century." In this he agrees with Wackernagel[49] who refers in passing to the sculpture of the cloister of Benevento in his study of eleventh and twelfth century Apulian sculpture. He maintains that "the majority [of the impost blocks] surely also belong to the late twelfth century [and] are connected more closely with Campanian sculpture." We believe that we have proved his theory.

ROME, ISTITUTO SVIZZERO

THE PORTAL OF THE CHURCH OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY AT HIGHAM FERRERS*

VIRGINIA WYLIE EGBERT

The significance of provincial works of art is often enhanced by illuminating evidences of the migration of style. Such is the case with the sculpture on the thirteenth century west portal of the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire (Figs. 1, 6, 7, 8). For this work, of considerable interest in itself, is even more important because it furnishes clues to two long-vanished portals of Westminster Abbey's north transept. Although the relationship has been briefly mentioned before,[1] apparently no study of the Higham Ferrers sculpture has ever been published.

The portal is in the tower, said to have been added to the church about 1250 or 1260,[2] so that the sculpture probably dates not long thereafter. In 1266, the year after the defeat of Simon de Montfort, Henry III gave Higham Ferrers—the property of one of the rebellious barons—to his younger son, Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster.[3] It would seem that when the building program at Westminster Abbey ended, three

45. E. Bertaux, *L'Art* . . . , p. 476, believes the impost blocks of Santa Sofia to be the work of Lombard sculptors. A. Venturi, *op.cit.*, 532, sees the imposts of Santa Sofia as examples for "forme antecedenti allo sviluppo dello stile neo-campano," yet at the same time he considers these works to be "un arte ligia ai canoni de' benedettini che a Benevento promossero gli studi." P. Toesca, *Storia dell'Arte italiana, Il Medioevo*, Turin, 1927, p. 849, detects Moslem as well as Lombard influences: "il volgere delle archi e alcuni ornati accennano all'arte musulmana." E. Lavagnino (*Enciclopedia italiana*, VI, 1930, p. 629) speaks of Apulian influences. The same author (*Storia dell'Arte medioevale italiana*, Turin, 1936, p. 334) sees in the sculpture of Santa Sofia, the continuing effects of the influence of the Lombard sculptors who were called to Monte Cassino by the abbot Desiderius. M. Rotili expresses the same opinion in *L'Arte nel Sannio*, Benevento, 1952, p. 82.

46. Bertaux, *L'Art* . . . , p. 476, mentions the impost blocks of Santa Sofia together with an impost capital with figural representations from the crypt of Sant'Agata dei Goti which he dates in the first quarter of the twelfth century (see note 29). Rotili, *loc.cit.*, also thinks of these sculptures as "coevi." Venturi, *loc.cit.*, and Toesca, *loc.cit.*, mention the impost block sculpture of Santa Sofia in Benevento in connection with works of the early twelfth century. Lavagnino, *Storia dell'Arte*,

p. 334, dates these works in the "prima meta del secolo XII."

47. L. Cochetti, "La decorazione plastica del chiostro di Santa Sofia a Benevento," *Commentari*, VIII, 1957, pp. 17-26.

48. F. W. Volbach, *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz*, Berlin, 1930, p. 66.

49. Wackernagel, *op.cit.*, p. 96.

* This note could not have been written without access to the complete photographs taken by Elizabeth G. C. Menzies in the summer of 1957 with the gracious permission of the Vicar of Higham Ferrers, the Reverend C. S. Ford. Nor would it have been written without the encouragement and helpful suggestions of Rosalie B. Green, Director of the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University; and my husband, Donald D. Egbert.

1. William R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey Re-examined*, London, 1925, pp. 75, 77f., 296; George H. Cook, *The English Mediaeval Parish Church*, London, 1954, pp. 218f.; Lawrence Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: the Middle Ages*, London, 1955, p. 120; Peter Brieger, *English Art 1216-1307*, Oxford, 1957, p. 191; C. S. Ford, *A Short Guide to the Parish Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Higham Ferrers Northants*, Higham Ferrers, 1958?, p. 22.

2. *Architectural Notices of the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton*, London, J. H. Parker, 1849, p. 19.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

1. Higham Ferrers, west portal (photo: Menzies)

2. Westminster Abbey, Chapter House, left jamb of portal
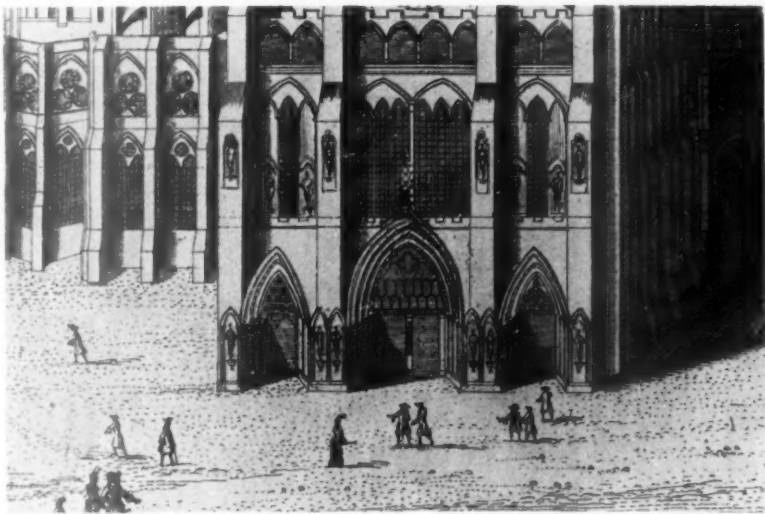
3. Westminster Abbey, façade of north transept as shown in an engraving in Stow's *Survey* (1755)
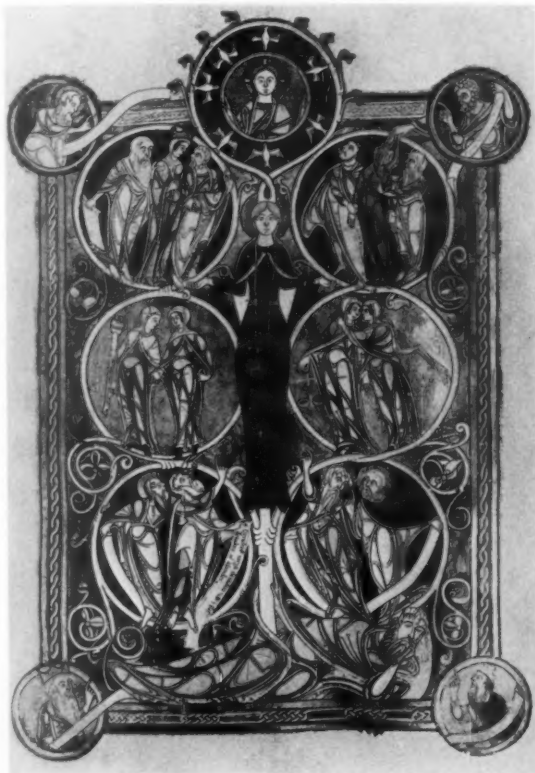
4. Lambeth Palace, MS 3, 1, fol. 198ʳ

5. Seal of Bradenstoke Priory, British Museum

7. Higham Ferrers, right side of tympanum (photo: Menzies)

6. Higham Ferrers, left side of tympanum (photo: Menzies)
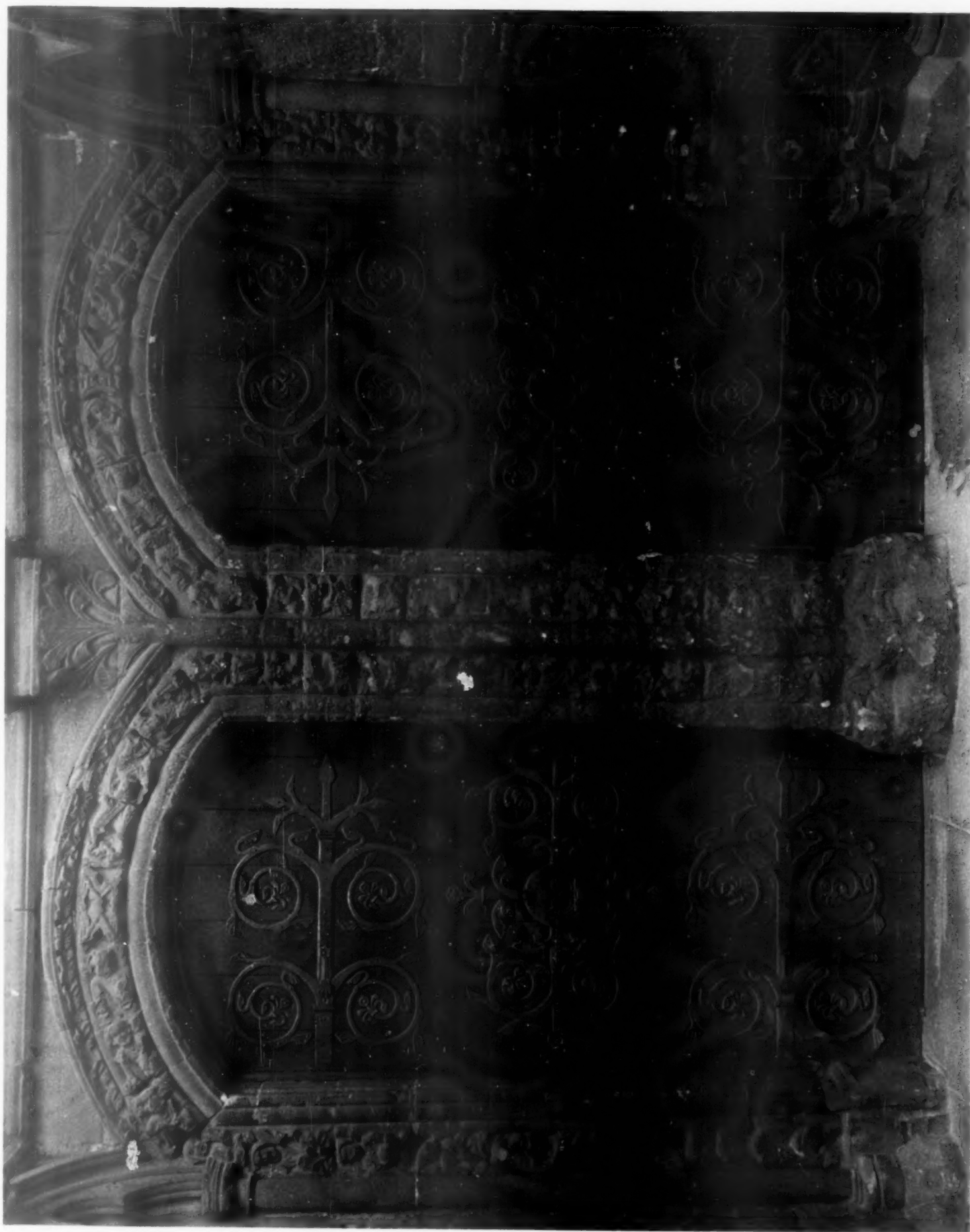
8. Higham Ferrers, west portal, detail (photo: Menzies)

9. Higham Ferrers, Christ (spandrel of window, west wall of tower)

11. Higham Ferrers, Musician (spandrel of window, north wall of tower)

10. Higham Ferrers, Minstrel (archivolt of west portal)

12. Westminster Abbey, spandrel of triforium arch

13. Higham Ferrers, Christ in Judgment (west wall of tower)
(photos on this plate: Menzies, except Fig. 12)

years later, some of the sculptors left London in search of work. One of the lesser masons may have executed the Higham Ferrers sculpture or lent his pattern book to a local craftsman.[4]

The evidence for the connection between the west portal at Higham Ferrers and the north façade of Westminster Abbey consists especially in the unusual division of the tympanum into separate medallions.[5] This peculiarly distinctive arrangement was used at Westminster Abbey: a seventeenth century seal[6] and an eighteenth century engraving (Fig. 3)[7] both show tympana similarly filled with medallions in the side doorways of the Abbey's north transept. And both the seal and the engraving were made before later extensive restorations completely eliminated all vestiges of these thirteenth century portals.[8]

The iconography of the Higham Ferrers façade seems to have centered on a Jesse Tree with its figures of ancestors of Christ and prophets leading up to a central Virgin Mary with the Christ Child (Figs. 1, 8). The prophets seated and holding scrolls are well preserved on the arches directly above the doors. Even though the sculptures on the jambs have suffered badly from time and exposure (Fig. 8), it is possible to distinguish figures seated among leafy branches that are reminiscent of the Jesse Tree on the Chapter House at Westminster Abbey (Fig. 2).[9] A slender tree rises on the trumeau between the doors to the tympanum, where a modern statue of the Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child now stands. That a Virgin and Child was

also placed there originally is borne out by the scene of the Adoration of the Magi, which fills one of the side medallions in the tympanum (Fig. 6), for the three Magi bear gifts to a now missing Christ Child who could only have formed part of the central group. Such a composition with a large figure of the Virgin Mary flanked by medallions has an English precedent in the twelfth century Jesse Tree of the Lambeth Bible (Fig. 4).[10]

Thomas Rickman, writing in 1881, thought that a Crucifixion had occupied the central part of the Higham Ferrers tympanum[11]—probably basing his assumption on the crescent moon and sun still visible against a diapered background below two angels swinging censers (Figs. 6, 7). But the sun and moon had also long been associated with the Virgin through the interpretations given by mediaeval theologians[12] to the lovely description in the Song of Solomon (6:10, Vulg. 6:9): "Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun . . . ?" On a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, what more appropriate attributes could be associated with her statue at the entrance?[13]

This iconography of the Virgin Mary with Christ Child, prophets and ancestors may have culminated in a figure of the Christ of Judgment.[14] Today, such a representation of Christ—showing his wounds and seated in a mandorla above two angels blowing trumpets, and near several figures apparently rising from tombs (Fig. 13)—is to be found high up on the

4. For the spread of the court style in architecture and sculpture see Brieger, *op.cit.*, pp. 183ff., and for a later parallel in illuminated manuscripts see Donald D. Egbert, *The Tickhill Psalter and Related Manuscripts*, New York, 1940, pp. 122f.

5. Such an allover pattern of medallions is extremely rare in tympanum sculpture. Although some scenes in quatrefoils are found on the tympana of the Cathedral at Sens and of St. Urbain at Troyes the basically arcaded composition of these tympana is quite different. The use of medallions at Higham Ferrers seems much more closely related to the other thirteenth century arts—stained glass; illuminated manuscripts (e.g., the Oscott Psalter, British Museum, MS Add. 50,000 [formerly Dyson Perrins Coll., MS 11], and MS 177 in the Eton College Library); embroidery (e.g., the English copes preserved in Anagni Cathedral and the church of St. Maximin, Provence); and fresco (e.g., Brook Church, Kent, and Romsey Abbey, Hampshire).

6. Seal of the Governors of the School and Almshouses of Westminster, executed by Thomas Simon in 1649. See George Fisher Russell Barker, *Memoir of Richard Busby 1606-95 and the Westminster School*, London, 1895, fig. p. 23.

7. See John Stow, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster and the Borough of Southwark* (corrected, improved and very much enlarged in the year 1720 by John Strype), London, 1754-55, II, pl. opp. p. 581.

8. The north transept portals were partly recased in Wren's time, and again almost totally renewed at the end of the nineteenth century. For a discussion of the changes and restorations made in this façade, see W. R. Lethaby, *op.cit.*, pp. 65ff.

9. *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England. An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London, Westminster Abbey*, London, I, 1924, pl. 7. Two figures at the top of the side jambs at Higham Ferrers may not belong to the main group of ancestors of Christ. Although they seem to be the only ones with distinguishing attributes, I have not been

able to identify them. One with head draped carries a mutilated object, the other in a hat similar to that worn by one of the doctors in the scene of Christ among the Doctors is seated beside a lamb and a sheaf of grain and holds something resembling a bundle of withes.

10. Lambeth Palace, MS 3, I, fol. 198[r], reproduced in Eric G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century*, Paris, 1926, pl. 41.

11. Thomas Rickman, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation with a Sketch of the Grecian and Roman Orders*, London, 1881, p. 151.

12. Rupert of Deutz, *In Cantica canticorum*, in Migne, *Patr. lat.*, CLXVIII, cols. 936f.; Ekbert of Schongaü, *Ad Beatam Virginem Deiparam Sermo Panegyricus*, *ibid.*, CLXXXIV, cols. 1012f.

13. The sun and moon, sometimes present in the scene of the Coronation of the Virgin, are not often represented flanking the Virgin Mary and Christ Child. It is therefore interesting to find this iconographic detail on a thirteenth century seal of Bradenstoke Priory in Wiltshire (Fig. 5). See Gale Pedrick, *Monastic Seals of the Thirteenth Century*, London, 1902, pp. 33f.; pl. XVI (31), where these attributes, in my opinion, are wrongly identified as moon and star. Identical forms appear in a Crucifixion scene on the seal of Torr Abbey, *ibid.*, pl. XXVIII (55), where they must have represented moon and *sun*.

14. The representation of Christ showing his wounds in the Jesse Tree although rare seems to be English and occurs in several manuscripts of later date, e.g. the Psalter of the first half of the fourteenth century, MS Arundel 83, fol. 14[r] in the British Museum; the early fourteenth century Tiptoft Missal, MS 107, fol. 23[r] in the Pierpont Morgan Library; and the Psalter of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, MS Canon lit. 198, fol. 1[r] in the Bodleian Library.

tower of the church; but in all probability the figure originally formed the apex of a now missing gable above the main arch of the portal.[15]

The subjects of the tympanum reliefs on each side of the Virgin and Child are drawn from episodes in the lives of Christ and the Virgin, and are distributed in ten medallions (Figs. 6, 7). The four partial medallions around the outer edge depict four Annunciations related to the life of the Virgin Mary. The three complete medallions on the left side show events in the youth of Christ, prior to his ministry, while the three on the right represent scenes at the end of his life.

The Annunciation of the Birth of Christ to the Virgin is portrayed at the left outer edge (Fig. 6). Gabriel extends his right hand in salutation to Mary, who holds an open book on a draped stand. Here, as well as in some of the other scenes, the angel is shown with one wing raised and the other lowered to fit the curve of arch and medallions.

The mutilated figures in the circle above are more difficult to identify. At the left, an angel emerges from clouds beside a figure whose head has been destroyed. At the right, two figures—apparently a man in a hooded garment and a woman wearing a hat—are embracing. The left scene probably represents the Annunciation to Joachim or to Anna, and that at the right the meeting of Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin, at the Golden Gate.

In the corresponding position on the other side of the tympanum (Fig. 7), an angel stands before a man dressed in a hooded garment who is tending sheep and goats: this is either an Annunciation to the Shepherds or the angel's appearance to Joachim. The last in this series of Annunciations shows an angel emerging from clouds above a man apparently wearing a vestment who kneels beside an altar on which a draped chalice is placed. This might be identified as an Annunciation of

the Birth of John the Baptist to Zacharias; however, in most representations of this scene Zacharias is shown standing and sometimes swinging a censer over the altar. Moreover, since the introduction of an episode related to the life of John the Baptist would not be particularly appropriate, it seems preferable to suggest the more unusual subject of the angel's command to Zacharias to call together the suitors for the hand of Mary.[16]

As already noted, the remaining medallions on the left side of the tympanum are related to the early life of Christ (Fig. 6). The upper one encloses the Adoration of the Magi that has been mentioned above. Below is represented the Baptism of Christ: John, wearing a loin cloth, raises his left hand to baptize Christ, who stands in the heaped-up waters of the Jordan beside an angel holding His garment. Christ Among the Doctors in the Temple is depicted in the circle to the left. The youthful Christ, holding an open book, is seated on a bench placed on top of a column in the midst of four doctors. The representation in this scene of Christ seated on a column is rare and apparently occurs only in English art; it is found, for example, on the lower register of the west front of Wells Cathedral[17] and somewhat later in Queen Mary's Psalter.[18] This distinctive feature of iconography may have originated merely in a desire to indicate the temple setting by referring to one of the famous columns in the temple of Solomon (I Kings 7:15-22), but more probably it symbolizes the Church, "the pillar and ground of the truth" (I Timothy 3:15). Alcuin of York and Lanfranc of Canterbury commented on the column as a symbol of Christ and of the Church.[19] Theological interpretations of this kind may have influenced the use of the column in this scene as a means of identifying Christ with the Church.

The corresponding medallions on the right side of

15. In *Arch. Notices* . . . , 1849, p. 4, the author suggests that the west door of Higham Ferrers was probably surmounted by a gable (reaching to the stringcourse) similar to that of the church at Rushden in Northamptonshire, and that the Christ may have originally occupied such a gable. But there is no discussion of the iconography or of its relation to the rest of the portal sculpture. This gable might have been destroyed when the west window (with a sculptured figure of Christ in the spandrel; Fig. 9) was moved there at a later date. The head of a crowned king is also misplaced on this tower wall; its original location has not been determined.

16. This episode is described as follows in the Protevangelium of James: "And when she was twelve years old there was held a council of the priests, saying: Behold, Mary has reached the age of twelve years in the temple of the Lord. What then shall we do with her, lest perchance she defile the sanctuary of the Lord? And they said to the high priest: Thou standest by the altar of the Lord; go in, and pray concerning her; and whatever the Lord shall manifest unto thee, that also will we do. And the high priest went in, taking the robe with the twelve bells into the holy of holies; and he prayed concerning her. And behold an angel of the Lord stood by him, saying unto him: Zacharias, Zacharias, go out and assemble the widowers of the people and let them bring each his rod; and to whomsoever the Lord shall show a sign, his wife shall she be." Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (eds.), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, New York, VIII, 1908, p. 363.

17. "The Imagery and Sculptures on the West Front of Wells Cathedral Church," by W. H. St. John Hope; with "Suggestions as to the Identification of Some of the Images," by W. R. Lethaby, *Archaeologia*, LIX, 1, 1904, pl. XXVI.

18. British Museum, MS Roy. 2. B. VII, fol. 151ʳ, reproduced in *Queen Mary's Psalter; Miniatures and Drawings by an English Artist of the 14th Century* . . . , with introduction by Sir George Warner, London, 1912, pl. 188.

19. Alcuin in his commentary on the passage in Revelation 3:12, "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God . . ." says ". . . in hoc versiculo omnis qui vicerit, columna in templo Dei fieri perhibetur, fateri cogimur hoc esse columnam quod templum, id est universalem Ecclesiam" (Migne, *op.cit.*, c, col. 1112). And Lanfranc of Canterbury in his commentary on I Timothy 4:1 writes ". . . columna Christi firmabit Ecclesiam contra impugnantes a fide discedentes . . ." (Migne, *op.cit.*, CI, col. 353). A nineteenth century identification of a column with the Church—though not in the scene of Christ among the Doctors—can be found in J. D. Blavignac, *Histoire de l'architecture sacrée du quatrième au dixième siècle dans les anciens évêchés de Genève, Lausanne et Sion*, Paris, 1853, pp. 288f.; Atlas, pl. LXXII(10). But here on a twelfth century capital in the cathedral of Saint Pierre, Geneva, the two lions tied to a central column seem to me decorative rather than "l'esprit du mal, symbolisé par deux lions, est enchaîné à une colonne, image de l'Eglise."

the tympanum contain representations of the Deposition, the Holy Women at the Sepulcher, and the Harrowing of Hell (Fig. 7). The first of these scenes shows Joseph of Arimathea supporting the body of Christ, whose feet are being detached from the cross by a kneeling Nicodemus. At the left stands a veiled figure, undoubtedly the Virgin, and at the right is John, who holds an open book in one hand and indicates Christ with the other. The lower circle encloses an angel pointing out the empty tomb to the three Holy Women, while four sleeping soldiers crouch within an arcade supporting the sarcophagus. In the Harrowing of Hell, Christ, carrying a now mutilated cross-staff, draws Adam from a Hell Mouth beside which a menacing devil raises an axe. The gates of Hell showing the iron ornament characteristic of mediaeval doors are visible in the background.

A lively genre note has been added to the religious scheme of the portal by the figure of a minstrel placed in an outer archivolt (Fig. 10). This seated man wearing a long pointed cap and a bag swinging from his shoulder, plays a stringed instrument,[20] while his feet appear to be enclosed in stocks. Another musician represented on this church is a delightfully carefree figure neatly carved in the spandrel between two lights of a window on the north side of the tower (Fig. 11). The youth crowned with a flower wreath and playing a pipe and tabor reminds one of a later figure in the Bromholm Psalter.[21]

No description of the portal at Higham Ferrers would be complete without a reference to the ornament, all of which is executed in a heavy, crude style. The foliate ornament between the medallions (Fig. 7) is similar to that in various other English works of the thirteenth century: it may be compared with examples respectively at Romsey Abbey,[22] in an Eton College manuscript,[23] and in the Sarum Hours illuminated by W. de Brailes.[24] The diaper on the background of the central section of the tympanum and in the archivolts (Figs. 6, 10) is a clumsy version of the elegant ornament used so lavishly at Westminster Abbey (Fig. 12).[25] The Higham Ferrers sculptor may also have derived the foliage supporting the base for the statue of the Virgin and Child (Fig. 8) from the outer door of

the Chapter House at the Abbey, where the leafy corbel in all probability likewise originally held a figure of the Virgin Mary.[26]

Thus the composition of the tympanum, the ornament, and the figure sculpture of the Higham Ferrers portal all seem to have connections with Westminster Abbey. The iconography apparently reflects a combination of elements originally used on two of the three doorways of the north transept at the Abbey. One of these two doors, probably the side portal toward the west, was evidently dedicated to the Virgin.[27] And since a statue of the Virgin decorated one of these Abbey portals, the medallions of the destroyed tympanum may well have enclosed scenes similar to those at Higham Ferrers.[28]

Furthermore, William Lethaby, after examining early documents and studies for restoring the Abbey's north transept façade, became convinced that the central portal originally contained a Christ of the Last Judgment placed in a large quatrefoil.[29] He believed that a fresco of this subject at East Bedfont (Middlesex) may have been copied from the Westminster sculpture.[30] Although Lethaby referred to the fact that the division of the tympanum at Higham Ferrers into medallions was similar to that of the side doors of the north transept at Westminster Abbey, he did not mention, and perhaps did not know of, the figure of Christ now located on the tower at Higham Ferrers (Fig. 13), which originally may have been placed in the apex of a gable over the doorway. In the light of the other similarities between the Abbey and Higham Ferrers, the Christ of Judgment at the latter may offer an even closer parallel, in the same medium, to the destroyed Westminster Christ than that at East Bedfont.

There is good reason, then, to believe that the iconography of two of the Abbey's portals on the north transept—one devoted to the Last Judgment, the other to the Virgin Mary—was condensed into the single portal at Higham Ferrers. The north transept at Westminster Abbey was the principal façade of the church of Henry III. This passionate patron of the arts, we can be sure, lavished much thought and devotion on making the sculpture of the transept a work of great beauty and magnificence. The surviving records of this

20. The mutilated state of the instrument prevented Emanuel Winternitz, Curator of Musical Instruments at the Metropolitan Museum, from identifying it specifically.

21. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1523, fol. 99ʳ. See Sydney Carlyle Cockerell and Montague Rhodes James, *Two East Anglian Psalters at the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, Oxford, 1926, pl. Bromholm V.

22. Ernest William Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting, the Thirteenth Century*, London, 1950, Plates, suppl. pl. 24 (b).

23. Eton College Library, MS 177, fol. 2ʳ. (Phot. Courtauld Institute).

24. British Museum, MS Add. 49,999 (formerly Dyson Perrins Coll., MS 4), fol. 1ʳ. See George Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins . . .*, Oxford, 1920, II, pl. IV (a).

25. Lawrence E. Tanner, *Unknown Westminster Abbey*, Middlesex, 1948, pl. 10.

26. *Royal Commission . . .* London, I, 1924, pl. 155.

27. An entry of 1338 in the Sacrists' Rolls mentions "Offerings at the Image of the Blessed Virgin outside the door of the church," and another of 1363-1365 refers to "St. Mary at the north door." Later, in May 1645, we are told that Thomas Gastaway was paid £3.3s. "for work done on the outside of the north side of Westminster, including hire of scaffolding for taking down statues of the Virgin Mary and other saints." W. R. Lethaby, *op.cit.*, p. 70.

28. The engraving in Stow shows the tympana of the side portals at the Abbey completely filled with medallions; thus the statue of the Virgin was probably placed on a trumeau. The sculptor at Higham Ferrers simply raised the trumeau figure up into the center of the tympanum.

29. W. R. Lethaby, *op.cit.*, pp. 70ff.

30. For the fresco at East Bedfont see E. W. Tristram, *op.cit.*, plates, suppl. pl. 38 (b).

vanished façade are tantalizingly inadequate. It is because the portal at Higham Ferrers apparently reflects, even though in a provincial way, some of the most important sculpture created under the patronage of Henry III that it holds particular importance for the history of art.

INDEX OF CHRISTIAN ART,
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AN ALTARPIECE BY GUIDO DA SIENA*

JAMES H. STUBBLEBINE

In 1931 Curt Weigelt published a reconstruction of an altarpiece comprising Guido da Siena's great *Madonna* (Fig. 1) and its pediment (Fig. 2) in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, and a number of scenes from the life of Christ, variously located in museums and private collections.[1] His attempt was as ingenious in some ways as it was unsatisfactory in others. That it has not met with universal approval is due not to the fact that he produced no unassailable proof but rather that he did not fully explore the material available to him. Consequently, his reconstruction is chiefly valuable for the questions it raises—questions which have ultimately led to the interpretation offered here.

The fundamental problems and ones which Weigelt did not meet are (1) how do we account for the presence of the pediment containing half-length figures of the Redeemer and two angels above the *Madonna*, and (2) in what ways do the narratives belong with the *Madonna* and, therefore, with the pediment? For if they were all created together, the part will inevitably reveal its place in the whole.

It will be useful to review briefly the history of the various panels involved. The *Madonna* has been frequently mentioned from quite early times, partly because of its impressive size and partly because it is inscribed with the venerable date of 1221. With its

pediment it has been in the Sala del Mappamondo of the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, since 1888. Before that and from 1705 various references place the *Madonna* in the Venturini Chapel of San Domenico, Siena.[2] Still earlier it is reported to have been above the principal door of the church on the interior.[3]

In the 1520's the chronicler Sigismondo Tizio relates that the *Madonna* was in the Capacci Chapel of the same church.[4] Tizio, very possibly observing the discrepancy between the inscribed date on the panel and the building dates of San Domenico, states that the painting had been made for the high altar of the nearby San Gregorio, a church which was destroyed later in the thirteenth century.[5] There is, however, no reliable evidence against the theory that the painting was originally intended for San Domenico; what we know of the building history of the church indicates that an altarpiece might very well have been ordered sometime between 1262 and 1286.[6]

The internal evidence of the Palazzo Pubblico *Madonna* itself would indicate a date sometime around 1280. However, the date of this *Madonna*, long a cause for debate, is not the major theme here. The lateness of the *Madonna* has been demonstrated recently by Dr. Richard Offner who places it in the latter part of the century by virtue of its intrinsic qualities rather than by the evidence of a suspect inscription.[7] Needless to say, a convincing reconstruction of an altarpiece for which the *Madonna* may have been originally designed would go far to clarify Guido's position in the evolution of thirteenth century painting.

Weigelt's association of a number of small narrative panels with the *Madonna* is an attractive one for a number of reasons, among them the substantial historical evidence. Of the twelve scenes which make up the group, five (the *Massacre of the Innocents*, the *Betrayal*, the *Crucifixion*, the *Deposition*, and the *Entombment*) have been in the Siena Pinacoteca since 1843.[8] Three other panels (the *Adoration*, the *Flight*

* The material of this article is based on one section of my doctoral dissertation, "An Altarpiece by Guido da Siena and His Narrative Style," submitted in 1958 at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. The research was done with the generous and stimulating guidance of Professor Richard Offner.

1. Curt Weigelt, "Guido da Siena's Great Ancona: A Reconstruction," *Burlington Magazine*, LIX, 1931, pp. 15-22.

2. Among them, Padre G. Della Valle, in *Lettere senesi di un socio dell' Accademia di Fossano sopra le belle arti*, Venice, 1782, I, p. 239, and A. M. Carapelli, "Chronotaxis Sancti Dominici in Camporegio," Biblioteca Comunale, Siena, MS quoted in G. Milanesi, "Della vera età di Guido pittore senese e della celebre sua tavola in San Domenico di Siena," *Giornale storia degli archivi toscani*, III, 1859, p. 5.

3. In that place it was seen by, among others, B. Montfaucon, *Diarium italicum, sive monumentorum veterum, Bibliotecarum, Musaeorum, etc. Notitiae singulares in Itinere Italico collectae*, Paris, 1702, p. 350. Fabio Chigi saw it there in 1625 (*L'elenco delle pitture, sculture, e architettura di Siena*, [Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano, I, i. 11] MS quoted by P. Bacci, "L'elenco . . . compilato nel 1625-26 da Mons. Fabio Chigi poi Alessandro VII," *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, n.s. X, 1939, p. 322).

4. Titius Sigismundus, "Historiarium Senensium ab initio urbis Senarum usque ad annum 1528," Biblioteca Comunale di Siena, B. III, 15, X, MS quoted by C. Brandi, *Duccio*, Florence, 1951, p. 103. Earlier references to the *Madonna* do not seem to be trustworthy. G. Milanesi (*op.cit.*, p. 4), among others, discounts the evidence of the so-called Bisdomini Chronicle, a fourteenth century MS in the Biblioteca Comunale, Siena, quoted by Brandi (*op.cit.*, p. 102).

5. Brandi, relying on Bisdomini and Tizio, thus finds support for his notion that the 1221 date is original (*op.cit.*, pp. 102ff.).

6. There was a gift of land in 1225. In documents of 1239 and 1244 we find that the building has not advanced very far. In 1262 a sum of money is given for the completion of the church. It must surely have been finished in 1286 when a chapel is ordered "nel bel mezzo" of the church to the memory of the recently deceased Beato Ambrogio Sansedoni. The building history is given in V. Lusini, "San Domenico in Camporegio," *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, o.s. XXII, 1906, pp. 263-295.

7. "Guido da Siena and A.D. 1221," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6 per., XXXVII, 1950, pp. 61-90.

8. G. Milanesi, "Nota ms. dei quadri ricevuti in deposito in questo R. Ist. di Belle Arti di Siena," MS quoted by P. Bacci,

into Egypt, and the *Flagellation*) were purchased in Siena for the Museum of Altenburg, Germany, in 1850.[9]

J. A. Ramboux of Cologne purchased three others (the *Nativity*, the *Presentation in the Temple*, and the *Mounting of the Cross*) in Italy sometime between 1818 and 1842.[10] Of these, the *Nativity* and the *Presentation* went eventually to the Strolin Collection, Paris, while the third, the *Mounting of the Cross*, went to the Archiepiscopal Collection of the Centraal Museum, Utrecht. Finally, the *Annunciation*, purchased by an American in Italy, is now in the Princeton University Art Museum.

We know that the five scenes in the Siena Pinacoteca as well as the three purchased by Ramboux came from a small abbey near Siena, the Badia Ardenga.[11] Furthermore, the Altenburg pictures were described at the time of their purchase as being part of an altarpiece which Ramboux had bought from the Badia Ardenga.[12] Now an inventory made at the Badia in 1834 lists certain paintings that we may reasonably identify with our group as being in the rectory there (". . . vari quadri assai usi nella canonica"),[13] obviously just about ready for some other disposition. We may conclude, then, that the panels were put up for sale some time between 1834 and 1842.

Very much earlier, in 1575, a Monsignor Bossio, on a visit to Siena, describes an altarpiece he saw in the Badia Ardenga in the following words: ". . . altare unicum in dicta ecclesia existens . . . iconam depictam in tabula cum Passione D. N. Iesu Xri decenter factam."[14] The supposition has been put forward that Bossio was looking at the group of scenes which were sold from the rectory in the nineteenth century.[15]

If it be supposed that the scenes mentioned by Bossio in 1575 had come from San Domenico, the transfer must have taken place in the preceding half-century. Tizio, writing in the 1520's and describing the Guido *Madonna* in the Capacci Chapel, also notes that the wings which had formerly closed over the *Madonna* were hanging in another part of the same church. ". . . ea enim tabula ad laevam mox cum ingrederis Sancti Dominici aedem in Capacciorum cappella conspicitur: aliae vero duae quae Virginem utroque latere olim claudebant, cum in ecclesiam sursum progrederis ad parietes tibi sese offerunt."[16]

It is significant that these panels already had been removed from the central one. The next step would seem to have been to banish them altogether. At which time some or all of them may have been sent to the Badia Ardenga to be fashioned into a sort of second-hand altarpiece.

These are the scenes which Weigelt associated with the Palazzo Pubblico *Madonna*. From the point of view of style there is much in favor of the argument and Weigelt's stylistic analysis is one of the most successful aspects of his reconstruction. Analogies between the unrepainted parts of the Palazzo Pubblico *Madonna* (namely, the spandrel angels of the main panel and the Christ and right-hand angel of the pediment) and the figures in the narratives from the Badia Ardenga persuade him that the narratives were painted by Guido himself.

Certainly the spandrel angels (Fig. 3) are the most unquestioned examples of Guido's smaller-scaled figures, and association of other works to the master must pass the test of comparison with these figures. Certain characteristics of these angels recur throughout the narratives: the oval face with puffed cheeks, the complex of curving brushstrokes with which the cheeks are modeled, the ruddy and full lips, the fork of light at the bridge of the nose, the shape and lighting of the tip of the nose and nasal wing. It is an animated and sensually conceived type of face. We find it in the face of the angel of the *Annunciation* (Fig. 4), those of the angels of the *Nativity* (especially the leftmost one), and that of the youth in the *Flight into Egypt* (Fig. 4). The face of the Virgin usually repeats this type, especially in the scenes of the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration, the Presentation, and the Mounting of the Cross (Figs. 4 and 5).

As for the drapery style, the rhythmic, oval patterns on the garments of the spandrel angels are of high quality both as designs and as reflections of a spiritual intensity in the figures. Essentially the same thing is to be found in many of the draperies in the Badia scenes, especially in the *Annunciation*, *Nativity*, and *Presenta-*

Dipinti inediti e sconosciuti di Pietro Lorenzetti, Bernardo Daddi, ecc. in Siena e nel contado, Siena, 1939, p. 23.

9. *Ger. Herzoglich Sachsen-Altenburgisches Museum. Beschreibender Katalog der Gemäldesammlung*, Altenburg, 1898, p. 8.

10. *Catalogue des collections d'objets d'art de Mr. Jean Ant. Ramboux, vente publique à Cologne le 23 mai, 1867*, J. M. Heberle, ed., Cologne, 1867, p. 7.

11. See Milanesi, "Nota ms. dei quadri ricevuti . . . ," *loc.cit.*, and the Ramboux Catalogue, *loc.cit.*

12. See Altenburg Catalogue, *loc.cit.*

13. C. Brandi, "Una Madonna del 1262 ed ancora il problema di Guido da Siena," *L'Arte*, XXXVI, 1933, p. 13.

14. Francesco Bossio, "Visite pastorale di Mons. Francesco Bossio," Curia Arcivescovile, Siena, manuscript quoted by C. Brandi, "A proposito di una felice ricostruzione della celebre Madonna di Guido da Siena," *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, n.s. II, 1931, p. 80.

15. P. Bacci has raised the objection that the word *icona* implies a central image and therefore Bossio must have referred to some other work ("La pinacoteca di Siena," *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, n.s. IV, 1933, p. 18); Brandi, on the other hand, points out that Bossio uses the term generically in reference to "qualsiasi quadro d'altare" (*L'Arte*, XXXVI, 1933, p. 12).

16. In the manuscript "Historiarium Senensium . . . ." The passage is quoted in Brandi, *Duccio*, pp. 102-103, in Weigelt, *Burlington Magazine*, LIX, 1931, p. 16, and in Milanesi, *Giornale storia degli archivi toscani*, III, 1859, p. 4. The passage is mentioned by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Painting in Italy from the Second to the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1864, I, p. 181 n. 1. Miss Giulia Brunetti has suggested to me that the word *aliae* is a combination of the Italian *ali* and the Latin *alae*. See the *Dizionario etimologico italiano*, Istituto di Glottologia, Florence, 1950, I, p. 122, defining *alia* (wing) as Tuscan, 15th century.

tion, as well as on the figure of Christ in the *Betrayal* and on the Virgin in the *Mounting of the Cross*. The linear beauties of these swooping folds and gold striations demonstrate that the spandrel angels and the Badia narratives are the product of the same hand and also, it would seem, the same time. As might be expected, given the scope of the program, the master was assisted in the execution of the scenes; the homogeneity of the compositions indicates that Guido designed the entire series, while his hand is to be found in a large proportion of the painting.[17]

Thus, while the proposal that the narratives and the Palazzo Pubblico *Madonna* once belonged to the same altarpiece is essentially reasonable from both the point of style and historical evidence, Weigelt's reconstruction raises a number of questions in regard to both the shape and content of the altarpiece.[18] Basing himself on the passage in Tizio, Weigelt comes to the conclusion that the narratives "formed the wings of a relatively large triptych," and calls it a "triptych with mobile wings."[19] This form, which is more correctly to be called a tabernacle, is the key to Weigelt's reconstruction (Text fig. 2). As a comparable example from the period he cites the tabernacle by an Umbrian artist in the Perugia Pinacoteca (Fig. 6), which, as a matter of fact, he believes to be derived from Guido's altarpiece. It may be asked, however, whether so vast a scheme was carried out in the form of a tabernacle with folding wings. Other tabernacles of the period were generally smaller and therefore

more wieldy.[20] And then, as Brandi points out, there are no hinge marks on the Madonna frame, which is evidently contemporary to the painting.[21]

Furthermore, the over-all shape of the work as Weigelt reconstructs it bears little relation to the panel shapes we have come to recognize as Dugentesque and Tuscan.[22] Wings of rectangular tabernacles in preserved examples are either rectangular themselves[23] or designed to fit below a raised arch of the center panel.[24] In the case of gabled tabernacles, the wings either fit under an arch or else rise to cover the gable as well.[25] If the Guido work had been in the form of a tabernacle, it is difficult to imagine that the wings would not have reflected the strong relief of the cusped arch above the Madonna and Child.[26] Thus, when the wings were closed they would have fitted underneath this arch, leaving both spandrels and pediment exposed. As will be seen, nothing about the preserved scenes indicates that such an arrangement is possible.

Just as disturbing from historical and aesthetic viewpoints is Weigelt's arrangement in seven rows. Among extant examples of thirteenth century Sienese altarpieces the rows always number three.[27] Given the greater scope and size of Guido's altarpiece, it would seem likely that he would double the traditional number of rows, arriving, then at a total of six. It is noteworthy that the narrative on the back of Duccio's *Maestà* is arranged in six rows. Working on such a premise it might be desirable to look for a satisfactory arrangement in six rows. It is not difficult to discard Weigelt's

17. There is no consensus of opinion about the authorship of the Badia scenes. As early as 1864 Crowe and Cavalcaselle observed that the Nativity scene (then in the Ramboux Collection, Cologne) recalled the angels in the altarpiece by Guido (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op.cit.*, I, p. 184 n. 3). Bacci, on the other hand, finds the scenes the work of his "Gallerani Master," a hypothetical figure to whom he gives very many Guidesque works (*Bullettino senese di storia patria*, n.s. IV, 1933, p. 18; idem, *Dipinti inediti e sconosciuti*, pp. 24ff.). Brandi is forced to the conclusion that they could not be by Guido since they patently belong to a period much later in the century than the Palazzo Pubblico *Madonna* (for which he retains the 1221 date). He believes that the narratives constitute an addition and he doubts that Guido would have been called back to execute them at such a late date ("Relazione sul restauro della Madonna di Guido da Siena del 1221," *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXXVI, 1951, p. 255). Dr. R. Offner believes that the scenes must be considered largely from the hand of Guido although, as he points out, they vary considerably in quality (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXVII, 1950, p. 62). I suggest that Guido executed the *Annunciation*, the *Nativity*, the *Adoration* (center tree added later), the *Presentation*, the *Flight into Egypt* (trees center and right added later), and the *Flagellation*. In the *Betrayal* Guido painted only the Christ; in the *Mounting of the Cross*, only the Virgin and Christ; in the *Crucifixion*, only the Christ. Entirely by assistants are the *Massacre of the Innocents*, the *Deposition*, and the *Entombment*.

18. This was not his first attempt to work with the narratives. As early as 1911 Weigelt had brought the scenes together, believing they had formed the predella of some altarpiece—an idea which he abandoned in his 1931 *Burlington Magazine* article.

19. Weigelt, *Burlington Magazine*, LIX, 1931, p. 15. This interpretation had already been put forward, incidentally, by

Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*New History of Painting*, I, p. 184 n. 1).

20. The Perugia tabernacle is unusually large, the Madonna panel itself measuring 215 by 95 cm. This is still much smaller than the Palazzo Pubblico *Madonna* and its pediment (364.7 by 194 cm).

21. Brandi, *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXXVI, 1951, p. 255.

22. The only analogous instance is an early 13th century tabernacle in Viterbo of the Roman School, which is, however, outside the Tuscan tradition (E. B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting, an Illustrated Index*, Florence, 1949, no. 299).

23. See the examples grouped together in Garrison (ibid., pp. 110-112, 118-123).

24. *Ibid.*, examples on pp. 124-125, 132-133.

25. *Ibid.*, examples on pp. 131-133.

26. The Perugia tabernacle differs in that the cusped arch fills most of the gable, thus leaving only a small margin in view when the wings are closed. By contrast, the cusped arch in Guido's painting is placed below in the rectangular Madonna field while the gable above is a separate piece. Both the great size of the Palazzo Pubblico *Madonna* and the absence of any hinge marks at the top would prohibit a reconstruction such as has been made of the small tabernacle in Christ Church Library, Oxford, in which the wings, when closed, left a space just sufficient for a folding pediment (ibid., p. 138).

27. The 1215 altarpiece in the Siena Pinacoteca (R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, I, 1923, fig. 106); the altarpiece (*Madonna and Child* with fragments of six scenes), Santa Maria in Tressa, near Siena (Garrison, *op.cit.*, no. 378); the St. John altarpiece in the Siena Pinacoteca (van Marle, *op.cit.*, fig. 215); the St. Peter panel, also in the Siena Pinacoteca (ibid., pl. II). Elsewhere in Tuscany the rule is not so invariable.

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                        CHRIST
                      WITH ANGELS


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  │ciation) │         │                               │ into    │ Washing │
  │         │         │                               │Jerusalem│ of Feet)│
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  │    3    │    4    │                               │   17    │   18    │
  │Adoration│Present- │                               │(Last    │Betrayal │
  │of Magi  │ation    │                               │Supper)  │         │
  │         │in the   │                               │         │         │
  │         │Temple   │                               │         │         │
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  │    5    │    6    │                               │   19    │   20    │
  │Flight   │Massacre │                               │(Trial   │Flagel-  │
  │into     │of the   │      MADONNA ENTHRONED        │before   │lation   │
  │Egypt    │Innocents│                               │Pilate)  │         │
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  │(Christ  │(Baptism)│                               │(Way to  │Mounting │
  │in the   │         │                               │Golgotha)│the Cross│
  │Temple)  │         │                               │         │         │
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  │    9    │   10    │                               │   23    │   24    │
  │(First   │(Tempta- │                               │Cruci-   │Deposi-  │
  │Tempta-  │tion     │                               │fixion   │tion     │
  │tion)    │on the   │                               │         │         │
  │         │Temple)  │                               │         │         │
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  │   11    │   12    │                               │   25    │   26    │
  │(Tempta- │(Marriage│                               │Entomb-  │(Noli me │
  │tion on  │at Cana) │                               │ment     │tangere) │
  │the      │         │                               │         │         │
  │Mountain)│         │                               │         │         │
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  │   13    │   14    │                               │   27    │   28    │
  │(Transfi-│(Raising │                               │(Ascen-  │(Pente-  │
  │guration)│of       │                               │sion)    │cost)    │
  │         │Lazarus) │                               │         │         │
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2. Reconstruction of tabernacle around Guido da Siena's Palazzo Pubblico *Madonna* (after Weigelt in *Burlington Magazine*, LIX, 1931, p. 21).

"wings" of seven rows just from the point of view of dimensions. It is hard to see how he arrived at his measurements—40 by 47 cm for each scene and 283 by 94 cm for each "wing." It will be noted at once that this allows an extremely small margin for framing. It becomes increasingly apparent that such details have not been worked out carefully in Weigelt's reconstruction.

The iconography of the series also requires restudy. Weigelt's selection of scenes to supplement those preserved is open to a number of objections. Why, for instance, in such a limited program, should the three Temptations of Christ be included? The presence of all three in the expansive narrative of Duccio's *Maestà* is scarcely evidence enough. It is interesting that only one Temptation is given in the Perugia tabernacle, the

program of which is otherwise so important in Weigelt's discussion. Examining the right side of Weigelt's plan, one asks why it includes both the Way to Calvary and the Mounting of the Cross, either one of which might carry the narrative in a sequence as brief as this. Most curious is the omission of the ever-popular Three Marys at the Tomb.

These instances will suffice to indicate that Weigelt does not base his selection on the iconographic currents of the time as he claims. Furthermore, the Perugia tabernacle would seem to offer even more evidence than Weigelt realized. In the top tier on the right of that painting the Passion cycle opens dynamically with the scene of the Betrayal, followed at once by the *Flagellation*.[28] One finds this sort of swift-moving, impassioned narrative in the aprons of Dugento crosses,

28. Van Marle, *Italian Schools*, I, fig. 236.

whereas the leisurely pace proposed by Weigelt would be suitable only in a narrative as drawn-out as Duccio's. If it be conjectured that the right side of Guido's altarpiece began with the Betrayal and the Flagellation, it may be that we have a sequence of six Passion scenes (Fig. 5) and not the scattering found in Weigelt's version.

Of the twelve scenes preserved, six belong to each side. The Infancy scenes on the left are in a logical sequence from the *Annunciation* to the *Massacre of the Innocents*, and it may be no coincidence that they were preserved as a group (Fig. 4). Since the scenes preserved on the right can be read as a coherent group, Weigelt's selection of Passion episodes may be set aside. This is not difficult to do; while the Washing of the Feet and the Last Supper are familiar from such a cycle as that by Duccio in his *Maestà*, they are only infrequently seen on the historiated crosses of the thirteenth century, which must have served Guido extensively as a model.[29] More precedent exists for the Trial Before Pilate, although it does not appear on all the crosses of the period and Guido could easily have eliminated it. The Way to Calvary can also be omitted, since Guido substitutes the Mounting of the Cross.

The preserved scenes, then, comprise a terse and more familiar Passion cycle than that proposed by Weigelt. Such a conjecture is further borne out by the horizontal breaks in a number of the scenes. Where these fracture lines continue at a corresponding height in two flanking scenes, the inference is that the two episodes were painted on the same panel and the various stresses came through to the surface before the scenes were hewn apart. Thus, the fracture at waist level in the *Crucifixion* continues leftward into the *Mounting of the Cross*, while the break through the center of the *Entombment* continues leftward across most of the *Deposition*.[30] In short, all the horizontal fracture lines help establish the juxtaposition of scenes in the original work.

It is unlikely that the panels preserved constituted the entire program. Not only are they too few to fill up the available space, but the narrative lacks the continuity and completeness which we expect after reading the Infancy cycle.[31] Quite possibly there were six other scenes on the lower half of each side which were later separated from the upper halves and subsequently lost. Since the preserved parts give the Infancy and Passion cycles, the lower section on either side must have embraced two additional cycles, the Teaching, or Mission of Christ and the Resurrection. This would reduce the narrative from a total of twenty-eight episodes, as Weigelt has it, to twenty-four. At the same time it would confirm the theory that Guido would have preferred to tell his story in six rows rather than seven.

With such a program in mind it should be possible to reconstruct the missing parts. Something of Guido's program, and probably his compositions, may very well be reflected in the Perugia Tabernacle, which includes besides the Baptism, a rare thirteenth century representation of the Christ Child in the Temple, and one representation of the Temptation of Christ. In Guido's swift-paced narrative, it may be supposed that he included the basic scenes as he did in the Infancy cycle above. Thus, this cycle may have included the following scenes: the Christ Child in the Temple, the Baptism, the Temptation, the Transfiguration, the Raising of Lazarus, and the Entry into Jerusalem (Text fig. 1). The fact that the Entry is never among the episodes of the Passion cycle in historiated crosses persuades us that Guido would have included it in the Mission cycle.[32]

The Resurrection cycle is more difficult to reconstruct. The Perugia tabernacle offers some clues, as may be imagined from the other cycles in Guido's altarpiece. Represented are the Three Marys at the Tomb, the Noli Me Tangere (rare in the Dugento), the Ascension, and the Pentecost. Curiously, Weigelt leaves out the Three Marys although it appears with great frequency in the thirteenth century and should be included here. The Descent into Limbo also has sufficient precedent in Sienese painting and could very well have been a part of Guido's program.[33] The Way to Emmaus and the Supper at Emmaus may also have been represented in this cycle.[34] There are several reasons for proposing these two scenes. The Way to Emmaus, set as it is in a landscape, would complement

29. See, for example, the cross attributed to Coppo di Marcovaldo in the Museo Civico, San Gimignano, which contains the episodes of the Betrayal, the Flagellation, Christ before the Judges, the Mounting of the Cross, and the Entombment (*ibid.*, fig. 187).

30. The same is true of the Infancy scenes on the left. Thus, in the *Adoration*, the fracture line just below knee level continues its slightly upward course clear across the *Presentation in the Temple*. A comparable subsurface disturbance is seen on a level with the mountain and tree at the left of the *Adoration* and the tower and *baldacchino* at the left of the *Presentation*. In the *Flight into Egypt*, a cleavage across the panel at the level of the Virgin's mouth continues at the same height across the *Massacre of the Innocents* indicating that these two scenes were also beside one another and suffered comparable damage.

31. Generally, that is, we would not expect to find so abrupt a gap as that between the *Massacre of the Innocents* and the *Betrayal*, just as we are justified in expecting some further

representations after the *Entombment*.

32. Weigelt places this scene at the beginning of the Passion, probably because it is so placed in Duccio's *Maestà*. The tradition varies; while it ends the cycle of the Mission in the Palatina at Palermo, it introduces the Passion at Monreale. In an earlier work, the No. 8 in the Siena Pinacoteca, Guido places the *Entry* in between two other scenes clearly of the Mission cycle—the *Transfiguration* and the *Raising of Lazarus*.

33. The scene is found in the early thirteenth century Sienese *Cross*, No. 597 in the Siena Pinacoteca (E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta e l'iconografia della passione*, Verona, 1929, fig. 414), and in a cross, possibly a Sienese work, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (*ibid.*, pp. 636-637 and fig. 415). See also the scene of *St. John in Limbo* in the St. John altarpiece, no. 14 in the Siena Pinacoteca (van Marle, *Italian Schools*, I, fig. 215).

34. Either or both appear on painted crosses, in Byzantine mosaics, in manuscripts, and in sculpture.

the flanking scene of the Three Marys at the Tomb and, as well, the corresponding scenes conjectured for the left side of the altarpiece—the Temptation and the Transfiguration. The Supper at Emmaus, usually a symmetrical composition with architectural elements, would balance with the scene that most probably closed the cycle, the Pentecost. It would also compensate for the absence of the Last Supper in the Passion cycle above, comparable in iconographic content as it is. Of course, it is quite possible that the program included only one or neither of the Emmaus scenes. One might prefer such episodes as the Incredulity of Thomas, or the Apparition of Christ on the Mountain, or On the Sea of Galilee. The sequence, then, while not unalterable, may have been as follows: the Three Marys at the Tomb, the Descent into Limbo, the Noli Me Tangere, the Way to Emmaus, the Supper at Emmaus, and the Pentecost (Text fig. 1).

The Ascension is an important component of this cycle but there are reasons for believing that the master alluded to this episode in another part of the altarpiece. It will be recalled that this scene is the exclusive subject matter of the upper terminal or *cimasa* of the twelfth and thirteenth century cross;[35] as such it is the climax of the entire drama unfolded on the cross beneath. Often it is presented as a full scene with the Virgin, Apostles, and angels beneath the figure or bust of Christ.[36] Just as often the essential elements are abstracted from the Ascension, to be represented in lieu of it and symbolizing it. In the ambience of Bona-

35. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, p. 171.

36. Garrison, *Romanesque Panel Painting*, no. 450.
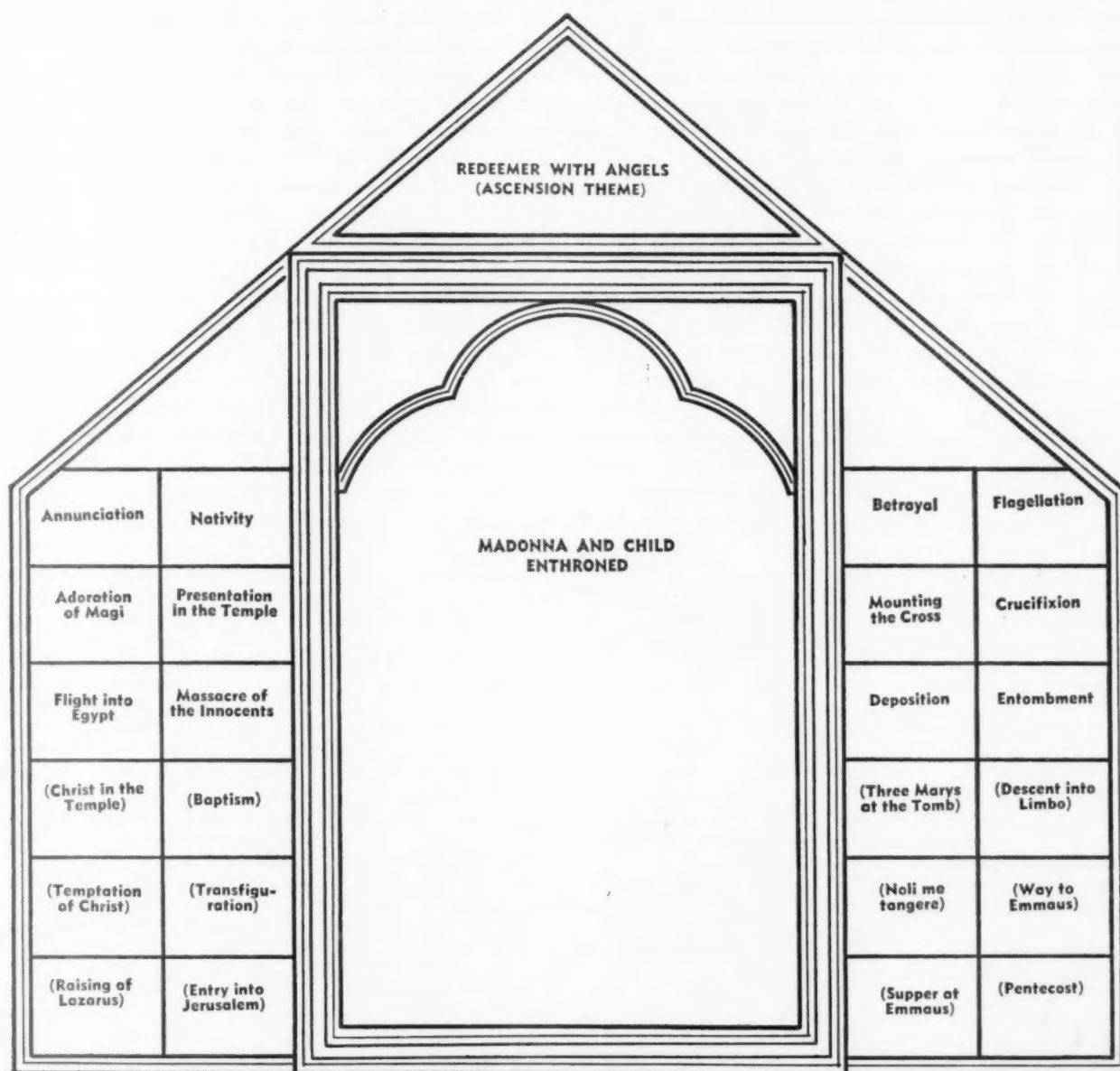
1. Proposed reconstruction of altarpiece around Guido da Siena's Palazzo Pubblico *Madonna*.

ventura Berlinghieri, the *cimasa* invariably contains only the half-length figures of Christ and two angels.[37]

Now the pediment of the Palazzo Pubblico *Madonna* contains just such a grouping of half-length figures. With the Bonaventuran formula in mind, it is possible to imagine Guido placing such a group—in lieu of an Ascension—in a position corresponding to the *cimasa* of a cross, that is, in a pediment above the Madonna and Child. Thus, the pediment takes on great significance; it is the climax towards which everything in the altarpiece leads.[38]

The arrangement of scenes offered here leads us to another objection to Weigelt's reconstruction and, at the same time, offers an important clue to the over-all shape of the altarpiece. Weigelt does not explain or even refer to the diagonal cut across the upper right corner of the Flagellation scene in Altenburg (Fig. 5b).[39] That this irregularity of shape is original is borne out by the composition of the scene. The building on the right is much lower than that on the left, at once suggesting a movement towards the left and upwards. In other scenes, with one significant exception, the height of the architectural or landscape elements is the same on either side. The positions of the figures in the *Flagellation* confirm this compositional movement. If the cut corner of this scene has something to do with its position on the altarpiece, we should expect a similar irregularity in the corresponding scene on the left side, which is, of course, the *Annunciation* in Princeton (Fig. 4). The upper left-hand corner of that scene has, indeed, a comparable irregularity; in an area equal to that cut from the Altenburg panel, the gilding is relatively recent and the architectural elements have been amplified.

Furthermore, the composition of the *Annunciation* resembles that of the *Flagellation* in reverse. The architecture is diminutive on the left side, in marked contrast to the large tower behind the Virgin on the right.[40]

In addition, the momentum of the angel establishes a movement towards the Virgin, while his drapery, arm, and tilted head lift the movement as it travels towards the right. An aesthetic sensibility—even an unconscious one—would lead the artist to compose these two scenes in terms of the irregular corners. From all this, we begin to suspect that the original framing of the altarpiece must have covered the corners of these two scenes.[41] It is possible to reconstruct such a frame simply by extending the diagonals of the pediment frame downward on either side. If this is done, the resulting shape would be a gabled panel (Text fig. 1), a very popular form in the Dugento. Altarpieces of this type occur throughout the century, the earliest extant example being the St. Francis altarpiece in Pescia dated 1235 by Bonaventura Berlinghieri.[42]

It remains to see whether the panels containing the narratives would fit within the space allowed by the diagonally descending frames. If the measurement of the picture area itself is taken, it is found that eight of the scenes have a height of 33 cm.[43] The width of the picture area (excluding the fragmented *Massacre of the Innocents* and the *Betrayal*) is 44 cm. The scenes themselves, therefore, can be established as having smaller dimensions than Weigelt indicated, even assuming that his measurements of 40 cm high by 47 cm wide included borders around the scenes.[44]

On the one hand, the total field of the narrative is much less than that in Weigelt's reconstruction,[45] since four scenes have been eliminated and the size of the individual scene has been reduced. On the other hand, the descending diagonals of the frame correspondingly limit the area which can be used. It is significant that the narrative fields should fit so closely within the areas controlled by the diagonals of the frame on either side. Allowing for narrow, painted borders between the narratives, everything fits within several centimeters.[46] It would be a remarkable coincidence had the Badia

37. *Ibid.*, nos. 499, 500, 507, 508, and 510.

38. It has been noted that the Pantocrator theme gradually replaced the Ascension in cupola decoration in Byzantine art (O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, London, 1950, pp. 17-20). Demus points out that the Ascension was often omitted from the narrative sequence when either it or the Pantocrator appeared in the cupola above. For Guido to have included the Ascension in his narrative as well as an allusion to it in the pediment would have meant a certain redundancy. Gertrude Coor considered that the twelve preserved scenes from the Badia Ardenga would make an iconographic whole if crowned by some such representation as a Resurrection or Ascension ("Dugento-Gemälde aus der Sammlung Ramboux," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XVI, 1954, pp. 82-83).

39. Garrison mentions this (*op.cit.*, p. 235, no. 660) as does H. Beenken ("Notizen und Nachrichten," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, II, 1933, p. 132). Both writers object to the Weigelt reconstruction in part because this irregularity is not accounted for. Beenken feels that the cut in the *Flagellation* reflects the shape of the whole painting to which it once belonged, but he, like Garrison, does not believe the scenes flanked the Palazzo Pubblico *Madonna*.

40. This would be even more striking were the top of the tower not covered by a border painted in later.

41. The Annunciation panel, as far as can be ascertained

under the cradling, is a complete rectangle. When the scenes were separated it would appear that the corner of this scene was painted in, whereas the corner of the *Flagellation* was cut off.

42. Examples of such thirteenth century gabled panels may be seen together in Garrison, *Romanesque Panel Painting*, Group XXII, pp. 154-156. In most cases the panel contains a full-length saint surrounded by scenes from his legend.

The average size of these panels is about 160 cm high to 130 cm wide. Thus the Guido painting is over twice as high and three times as wide as most other examples. The large scale, the wide proportion, and the compartmentation have no precedent among similar gabled panels preserved to us and, to that extent, place this altarpiece in a class by itself.

43. For the others measurements are only available from edge to edge of the panel.

44. In some cases the panels have been amplified by strips of wood on one or several sides; the *Annunciation*, for instance, has strips on the left and top sides. Variations in the sizes of the panels may also be explained by the way in which they were separated; that is, they were probably cut up into unequal pieces.

45. H 202 by W 92 cm as opposed to Weigelt's H 283 by W 94 cm.

46. Credit for the execution of the scale drawing goes to

Ardenga scenes been designed in these dimensions for some entirely different disposition.

The scenes were probably painted on four large, rectangular panels with one cycle of six scenes to each panel. Like the pediment, they would have been attached to the Madonna panel to form a compartmented whole.[47] Such a permanent, fixed type of altarpiece is a very different matter from the tabernacle with movable wings supposed by Weigelt. It follows, likewise, that what Tizio saw were not the wings of a tabernacle, but the lateral compartments of an altarpiece. He called them wings simply because no other relationship occurred to him.

It will be noted that Weigelt's measurements allow very little margin for framing and moldings. At a glance we can see the importance of such elements in Sienese painting; elaborate frames and moldings are as important in the 1215 altarpiece[48] as they are in Duccio's *Maestà* many years later. Guido's own polyptych (No. 7 in the Siena Pinacoteca)[49] reveals the emphasis he placed on frames and moldings. The altarpiece for San Domenico must have had the most elaborate and evolved system of framing seen in Siena up to that time. Despite dismemberment and alteration, much of it can be reconstructed. The cusped arch inside the Madonna panel is molded in the same way as the frame which remains on two sides of the pediment. In addition, the outer and inner moldings of the wide Madonna frame share the same system of molding. Finally, all these elements are 5.3 cm in width. If a molded frame of the same width be run down around the narrative fields, the twenty-four scenes would be contained perfectly with just enough leeway for narrow, painted borders.

It would seem that the frame or, rather, the molding around the *Madonna* is so wide that it would have isolated that panel from the other parts of the ensemble to an excessive degree. Yet all evidence indicates that the frame is original and contemporary to the painting.[50] Furthermore, it has been pointed out that the flat band running along the center of this frame was originally a dark blue, similar to the blue band in the frame of the No. 7 polyptych.[51] Visually, then, the inner molding would have served as a border to the *Madonna*, the outer one, to the narrative field.

It would be difficult to determine what the triangular spaces above the narratives may have contained. It is conceivable that additional angels may have occupied these spaces, thematically linking the sides to the spandrels and also to the pediment. It is, though, entirely

possible that these were decorative intervals, filled with vine and scroll motifs and, possibly, medallions—a system which we find in the upper part of Guido's polyptych No. 7. Whatever the theme or decoration, it would go far towards softening the juxtaposition of triangles and curving spandrel shapes.

In view of the foregoing is it possible to consider, as has been done,[52] that the pediment was added at a later time and that the Madonna panel originally stood by itself? Or, is it possible that the *Madonna* and its pediment as we see them today in the Palazzo Pubblico constitute a complete work? By itself the rectangular shape of the Madonna panel would have been an anachronism in an era which increasingly favored the gable shape. No other Guidesque Madonna is given a rectangular format. Therefore it seems certain that the pediment was intended from the outset. Furthermore, the relationship between the two parts is corroborated by matching dimensions, the design of the frame and molding elements, and by the painting style. But just as the Madonna panel is unsatisfactory by itself, so too, the *Madonna* and the pediment together are unsatisfactory for the very simple reason that they do not constitute an aesthetic whole. After all, with the one-piece gabled panel in common use for representations of the Madonna Enthroned, why should the artist have invented this rather top-heavy and inorganic two-piece form? And why should he represent the Redeemer and angels (an Ascensional theme) above the Madonna, a feature unparalleled in the painting of the thirteenth century, or subsequent eras (when, however, the Redeemer alone does occupy such a position)?[53] It might be said that aesthetically the Madonna panel and its pediment need the lateral extension provided by the narrative fields, and that the theme of the pediment needs the content found in the narrative fields.

Such an altarpiece as is reconstructed here must inevitably reflect a certain point both in Guido's development and in the evolution of Sienese painting. The frame and molding elements are more evolved than those in the polyptych No. 7,[54] the inscribed date of which is probably to be read as soon after 1270. At the same time these elements begin to have some of the delicate complexity which is so pronounced in Duccio's Rucellai Madonna frame. Thus, a date of about 1280 might be arrived at on the basis of the frame alone. In certain other features of the Palazzo Pubblico *Madonna*, such as the ample space around the Madonna and Child, as well as the new mobility and naturalness of the figures, just such a date might be proposed.[55]

Mr. Stephen Ostrow of the Institute of Fine Arts. He was of considerable help in working out the problems of scale and proportion of this reconstruction.

47. The joint between the upper and lower halves probably would have been hidden by a molding which would also have served to divide the cycles. When the upper two cycles went to the Badia Ardenga, the others, being painted on separate panels, would have been easily detached and either sent elsewhere or discarded.

48. Illustrated in van Marle, *Italian Schools*, I, fig. 106.

49. *Ibid.*, fig. 207.

50. C. Brandi, *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXXVI, 1951, p. 255.

51. R. Offner, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXVII, 1950, p. 64.

52. Brandi, *loc.cit.*

53. The motif appears frequently in Ducciesque painting (see van Marle, *op.cit.*, II, figs. 41, 56, 58, 69, 72, 77). The motif is first used in Vigoroso's polyptych, ca. 1280, in the Pinacoteca at Perugia (*idem*, Italian Schools, I, fig. 213), but in a number of ways this work already reveals an early influence of Duccio.

54. R. Offner, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

55. See the analysis by R. Offner, *op.cit.*, pp. 74ff.

Finally, the box-like throne with a view of one side is of a type probably introduced by Cimabue and in vogue throughout Tuscany at about this time.[56] As for the Badia Ardenga narratives, a study of their compositions and iconography confirms such a dating.[57]

In all probability, the altarpiece was stripped of its side panels as early as the time of the restoration in the shop of Duccio in the early fourteenth century.[58] This can be conjectured from a study of the recently restored *Madonna* (Fig. 7), formerly in Sant' Agostino and now in the Pinacoteca Civica in San Gimignano.[59] The derivation from the Palazzo Pubblico *Madonna* can be inferred in a number of ways such as the presence of the Redeemer and angels in the gable above the Madonna, and the six angels above the cusped arch. The lateness of this work is indicated by such factors as the marble inlay throne, the pattern of the hanging on the throne-back, and the position of the Madonna's left hand, all of which are recognizably Ducciesque. Even more interesting is the fact that the separate pediment piece has been eliminated and, also, the cusped arch is no longer a molding but simply a painted border. These appear to be nothing but simplifications

of a prototype. On the other hand, the omission of the lateral scenes is probably due, not to the process of simplification, but, rather, to the fact that the side fields had already been eliminated from the Guido altarpiece when it was restored in Duccio's shop. (One wonders what attitudes of charity or reverence may have saved the narratives at that time.)

There can be little question that this altarpiece for San Domenico was an important and progressive work in its time, even though that time proved short. The scale in itself proclaims a new era, while in the scope and complexity of its program it is a bridge between the earlier Dugento and the early fourteenth century. Whereas the rectangular St. Peter altarpiece from Guido's shop is almost Ducciesque in its painting style, the shape and program are not very different from numerous earlier altarpieces. The Guido altarpiece, by contrast, does offer entirely new possibilities for large altarpieces. It may be supposed, for instance, that the San Domenico work by Guido was a significant part of the artistic background which the young Duccio di Buoninsegna absorbed and transformed.

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56. J. H. Stubblebine, "The Development of the Throne in Dugento Tuscan Painting," *Marsyas, Studies in the History of Art*, VII, 1954-1957, pp. 31ff.

57. *Idem*, "An Altarpiece by Guido da Siena and His Narrative Style," dissertation submitted at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, 1958. The lateness of these scenes in the evolution of Dugento painting has been quite generally conceded. A number of writers have mentioned the relationship between the *Crucifixion* (Siena Pinacoteca, no. 11) and the fresco of this scene by Cimabue in the upper church of St. Francis at Assisi.

58. Besides extensively repainting the figures and the throne the restorer must have taken that occasion to add the bogus inscription—"bogus" since it was evidently purloined from the polyptych no. 7. This connection was first advanced by A. Lisini years ago ("Una interessante questione artistica," *Miscellanea storica senese*, III, 1895, p. 10). Following the recent restoration at the Istituto Centrale di Restauro in Rome, Brandi (*op.cit.*, pp. 253-254) concludes that the inscription is

contemporary to the rest of the painting and that the 1221 date is, once again, substantiated. The chief bit of evidence is the discovery that the pink of the undergarment laps over the blue ground of the inscription at one point and that one of the gold striations of that garment runs down over a part of the lettering. Since Brandi maintains that this garment must be authentic, his conclusion is that the inscription has to be precisely coeval with the rest of the painting. On the other hand, certain as we are that the inscription has nothing to do with Guido's *Madonna* and that 1221 is, in any case, an unacceptable date on stylistic grounds, we must wonder whether that garment was not at least touched up during the fourteenth century restoration. Clearly, the scientific evidence cannot by itself solve the problem. For a recent critical analysis of the inscription see R. Offner, *op.cit.*, pp. 86-89.

59. E. Carli, *Dipinti senesi del contado e della Maremma*, Milan, 1955, pp. 15-33 and figs. 3-6; *idem*, "Recent Discoveries in Sienese Painting of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *The Connoisseur*, CXXXVI, 1956, pp. 176-178.

1. Guido da Siena, *Madonna Enthroned*
Siena, Palazzo Pubblico (photo: Grassi)

2. Guido da Siena, *Redeemer with Angels* (detail of pediment). Siena, Palazzo Pubblico (photo: Anderson)
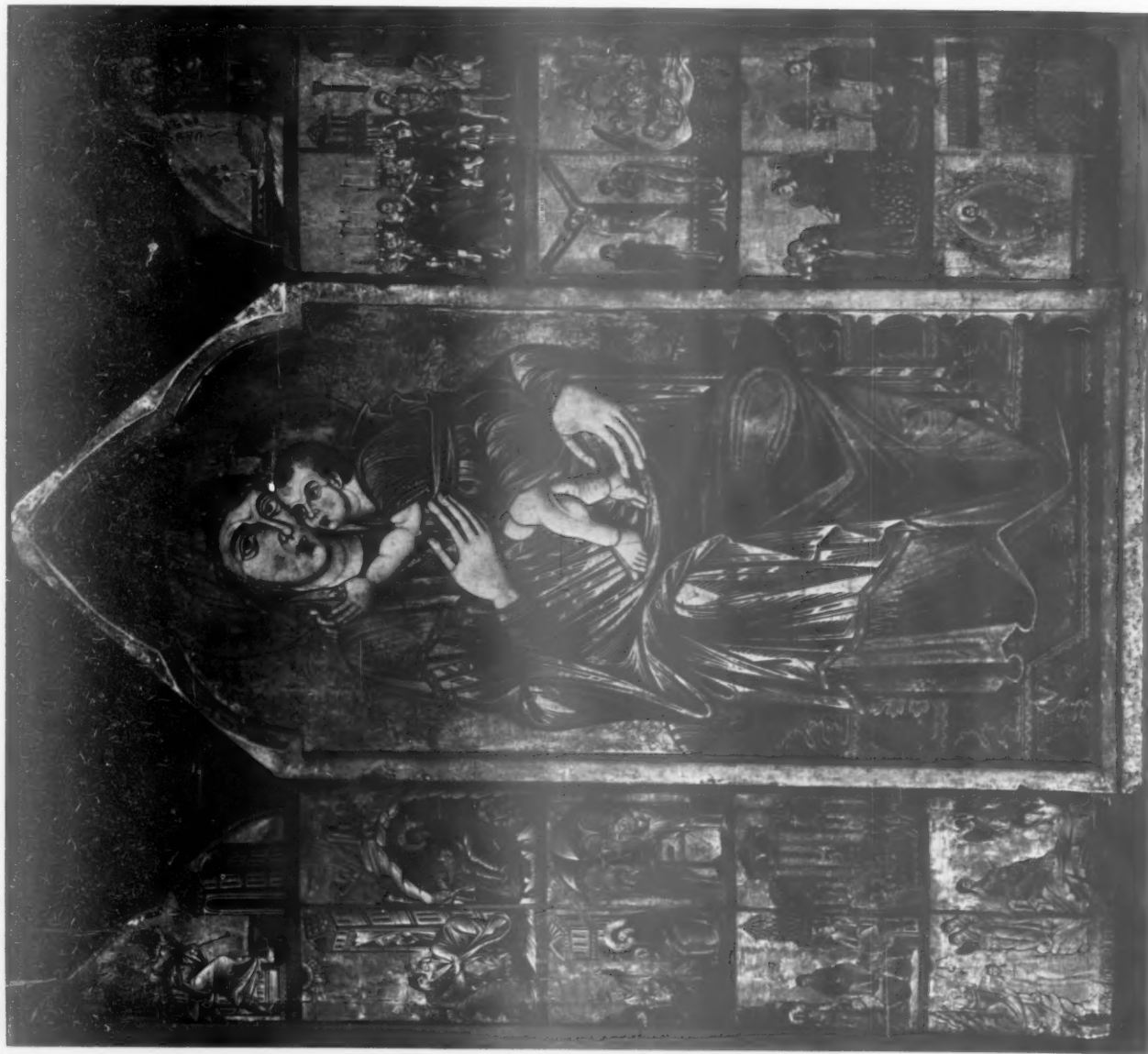

3. Detail of Fig. 1

4. Guido da Siena, Reconstruction of Infancy Cycle

5. Guido da Siena, Reconstruction of Passion Cycle

6. North Umbrian Master, Tabernacle, Perugia, Pinacoteca (photo: Alinari)

7. Follower of Guido, *Madonna Enthroned*
San Gimignano, Pinacoteca Civica
(photo: Grassi)

DOCUMENT

A 1526 CELLINI LETTER

CARROLL WINSLOW BRENTANO

The following autograph letter of Benvenuto Cellini, hitherto unpublished, is in the collection of Elsie O. and Philip D. Sang, River Forest, Illinois:[1]

A di 2 di giugnio 1526

Messer ____[2] ro^mo io vi prego che voi siate chontento di richordarvi della mia facenda ____[che(?)][3] chosimo chasini.[4] e vi prego gli diate danari coe in sin a dua ducati e vi prego gli ____[5] diate 6.4.3 guli[6] per volta e la mia facenda chollui vi sia rachomandata: io detti la chorniola[7] a jachomo del sansovino e anchora hopero nelle vostr anella e serviro vi bene[8] vorei che facessi me fussi dato quella pierra che volete che io metto in nella anello da caro perche ho piacere fare chose che vi piaccano. A voi mi rachomando Restate chon dio

Il vostro benvenuto horefice in roma

___

Reverse: Messer ____[9] in Fiorenze

There is no specific mention of the year 1526 in Cellini's autobiography, but we know he was in Rome from the election of Clement VII until after the siege of Rome in 1527.[10] It was during this period that he took the boy dressed up as a girl to the club banquet and became involved with the fellow bravo in a rivalry for the favors of the lady Pantassilea. He also tells us that he was working as a jeweler,[11] that he often bought antique gems—among them carnelians—dug up by the peasants in Roman vineyards,[12] and that in imitation of antiques he made some steel rings inlaid with gold for which he received up to forty scudi each.[13]

It seems a safe assumption then that this letter represents a typical and not very important transaction between Cellini and some Florentine client. A minor affair—significant only in that it confirms Benvenuto's statement that "It would take me too long to describe how many and what kind of works I executed for all sorts of people."[14] Also the letter attains some status because it is the earliest of Cellini's we have.

The letter does, however, establish one other fact of moderate importance, and that is the presence in June 1526, of Jacopo Sansovino in Rome. Laura Pittoni, biographer of Sansovino, brought this into question in connection with the sculptor's work on the parochial church of Pontremoli.[15] It had been suggested by Giovanni Sforza, historian of the church, that Sansovino was at work in Carrara on the project from the end of 1524 until the beginning of July, 1526, and Pittoni submits the countersuggestion that Sansovino could easily have made the models in Rome and had them sent to Carrara for execution.[16] The Cellini letter seems to add its support to this second presumption.

The letter, measuring 22 by 16 cm, is on cream-colored paper and written in ink now brown.[17] The holes have been carefully mended with thin paper and the whole mounted on fine cloth. It was folded in thirds lengthwise and sealed with red wax.

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___

1. I would like to thank Mr. Sang for the loan of the document, also Prof. Gene Brucker of the University of California who brought the letter to my attention and helped me with the transcription.

2. Lacuna: a large hole has obliterated the name of the addressee on both sides of the letter.

3. Lacuna.

4. I could find out nothing about this man.

5. Lacuna.

6. *Giuli*: ten *giuli* were worth one ducat (or florin).

7. Carnelian.

8. "E serviro vi bene" was crossed out and rewritten above the line.

9. Lacuna.

10. Benvenuto Cellini, *Vita*, ed. Orazio Bacci, Florence, 1901, p. 37.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

15. Laura Pittoni, *Jacopo Sansovino scultore*, Venice, 1909, pp. 137-142.

16. Giovanni Sforza, *Memorie e documenti per servire alla storia di Pontremoli*, Florence, 1904, II, p. 781, as cited in Pittoni, *op.cit.*, p. 141.

17. The handwriting closely resembles other specimens of Cellini's writing. See, for example, Carlo Pini, *La scrittura di artisti Italiani*, Florence, 1869, VIII, fol. 181.

BOOK REVIEWS

WILHELM SCHWEMMER, *Adam Kraft*, Nuremberg, Verlag Hans Carl, 1958. Pp. 112; 70 figs. DM 15.50 ($3.80).

The forthright Nuremberg sculptor Adam Kraft has been an interesting example of how German sculpture could find its way from the complexity of the Late Gothic style toward a classical style of its own without borrowing Italian Renaissance formulas. Unfortunately no book on Kraft has been available since Dorothea Stern's excellent monograph, which was written on Wilhelm Vöge's suggestion.[1]

Now a new book on Kraft by Wilhelm Schwemmer, director of the municipal art collections in Nuremberg, has been published. Familiar with the sources in Nuremberg archives, he rightly put his major emphasis on the clarification of Kraft's biographical data and the conditions under which his works were created since a new effort was much more needed in this direction than in the analysis of Kraft's stylistic development, which had been well established by Dorothea Stern and Robert Eigenberger.[2] Both reached independently similar results in questions of attributions and in the general concept of Kraft's artistic development, an indication of the soundness of their approach.

Schwemmer exploits carefully all documentary clues, although he fails to present the documents themselves to the reader, except for the photographic reproductions of the contract for the tabernacle in S. Lorenz on the end papers and of a receipt in the text. The listing of sources that heads his bibliography will, however, be a help for future efforts involving the actual documents. According to Schwemmer and to Dorothea Stern, Kraft spent his youth in Nuremberg, where he was born between 1455 and 1460—not between 1450 and 1455, as Wilhelm von Bode had assumed.[3] Schwemmer proposes that the carpenter Ulrich Kraft was Adam Kraft's father and finds it plausible that another Ulrich Kraft, a Nuremberg master mason since 1480, was a close relative. Schwemmer assumes that Kraft was apprenticed at the age of fourteen to a mason, and that after having become an assistant mason he served another two years under the guidance of a "Werkmeister" (master of the work, an architect-sculptor) "um Kunst" (for art's sake) in order to become a stone sculptor. And following this, Schwemmer believes that Kraft must have studied architectural practice with a "Werkmeister" for an additional period in order to become a "Werkmeister" himself.

According to Schwemmer the "Werkmeister" under whom Adam Kraft's apprentice years as mason and sculptor were served was the master Jakob Grimm, who erected the majestic eastern choir of S. Lorenz and employed Adam Kraft's cousin Ulrich Kraft as an assistant. In this shop Adam Kraft collaborated as a beginning sculptor on the stone balustrade of the balcony that surrounds the choir of S. Lorenz and on the interior façade of its sacristy, both of which show striking similarity in their decorative forms to the decorative work Kraft did in later years on his tabernacle for the same church and on balconies surrounding the courtyards of the houses of Nuremberg patricians.

For his journeyman years Schwemmer assumes that Kraft went to Ulm and Strasbourg. He proposes that Kraft may have participated in Hans Hammerer's Strasbourg pulpit of 1484. Wilhelm Pinder had already remarked that one had to think of this Strasbourg pulpit when one viewed details of Kraft's tabernacle in S. Lorenz in Nuremberg.[4] Since Adam Kraft's name does not appear in the Nuremberg lists of new masters, Schwemmer suggests that he might even have received the degree of master in Strasbourg. Schwemmer pays no attention to the suggestion of Max Lossnitzer that Kraft's extraordinary mastery of pictorial perspective may have been acquired in Augsburg,[5] a hypothesis strengthened by the fact that the wing-like lateral extensions in Beierlein's epitaph for Bishop Friedrich von Hohenzollern in Augsburg Cathedral reappear in Kraft's Pergenstörfer Epitaph. Yet in addition to Swabia and Strasbourg, attention should also be paid to Mainz as a place where Kraft may have worked in such a workshop as the one that created in the early 1480's the monument of Archbishop Dieter von Isenburg, whose intense realism and quiet sobriety seem reflected in Kraft's later work. It should also be observed that the statuette of a Virgin and Child on the monument of Adalbert von Sachsen (d. 1484) in the Cathedral of Mainz has a close affinity in the expression of Mary's face to Kraft's Mary in the Tabernacle of S. Lorenz, as the Child has to Kraft's heavy, large-headed children. There is even a documentary hint for Kraft's presence in Mainz in a notice in a Mainz account, the "Registra Praependarum Ecclesiae St. Stephani" of 1481, which mentions a payment to a mason with the name Crafft ("Item 15 β de omnia et domo quondam crafftonis lapicitae"). This entry so far has never been related to the Nuremberg sculptor.[6]

Since the end of the 1480's, Schwemmer believes, Kraft was back in Nuremberg. He does not speculate, however, on his early works there, although the clarification of Kraft's beginnings seems to us the one problem in the history of his work still unsolved. Eberhard

1. *Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, Strasbourg, 1916.
2. The latter published a valuable study of Kraft's work in the *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, IX, 1916, the very year in which Dorothea Stern's book appeared in print.
3. *Geschichte der deutschen Plastik*, Berlin, 1885, p. 132.
4. *Die deutsche Plastik vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Ende der Renaissance* (Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft), Wildpark-Potsdam, 1929, pp. 430f.
5. *Veit Stoss*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 88.
6. Published by Grete Tiemann, *Beiträge zur mittelrheinischen Plastik um 1500* (Veröffentlichungen der pfälzischen Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, X), Speyer am Rhein, 1930, p. 21 n. 27.

Lutze[7] revived an old thesis that Adam Kraft's earliest Nuremberg work was the Last Judgment epitaph for Dr. Hermann Schedel, whose excellent portrait points toward the early style of Kraft. Since Hermann Schedel had died in 1485, this work, which was formerly over the eastern south portal of the Sebalduskirche in Nuremberg and is now in the Germanic National Museum there, would fit perfectly the time of Adam Kraft's return to Nuremberg. Schwemmer does not mention, either, Wilhelm von Bode's convincing thesis[8] that the Virgin with the Christ Child at the back entrance of the Ägydienkirche might be an early work by Adam Kraft.[9]

The volume offers excellent plates, many made from new photographs, although in the case of works destroyed in World War II, like the St. George relief and the Madonna at the corner of Bindergasse and Leonhardsgasse, archive photographs had, of course, to be used. A welcome, although not entirely sufficient, number of details permits thorough study, particularly in the case of the tabernacle in the Lorenzkirche, of which twenty-two details are offered. A complete corpus of Kraft's work is still a desideratum. Indeed a work like the tabernacle in S. Lorenz would probably in itself require a whole volume of illustrations for a full exploration of all its parts. It is strange that a monograph on this work has never been produced, whereas several have been offered on Peter Vischer's tomb of St. Sebald. One illustration giving three intricate plans of the tabernacle in S. Lorenz taken at different levels has been reproduced from Friedrich Wanderer without its source being given.[10]

Lacking among the illustrations in Schwemmer's book, although mentioned in the text, is the sandstone statuette of a woman carrying two shields of the Imhof and Muffel families, acquired for the Berlin Kaiser Friedrich Museum in 1914, now in the Museum Dahlem in Berlin, the only work by Kraft in a collection outside Nuremberg. Also mentioned but not illustrated is the bust (fragment) of an angel in the Germanic National Museum in Nuremberg.

Neither mentioned nor illustrated is the figure of a female saint from a house which had belonged to the monastery of St. Clare, now in the Germanic National Museum.[11] Passed over also is the bronze figure of a kneeling man that E. F. Bange attributed to Kraft,[12]

whereas Weihrauch in the recent catalogue of the bronzes of the Bavarian National Museum reassigned this work (known as the "Astbrecher") to the work of Peter Vischer the Elder.[13] A group of seven drawings in the Graphische Sammlung in Munich, which Daun attributed to Kraft, is also passed over.[14] These drawings, however, were rejected as works of Kraft's own hand by Dorothea Stern.[15]

The question of whether Kraft ever executed sculpture in wood is not discussed by Schwemmer. Hubert Wilm considers an excellent figure of St. John under the Cross in the Germanic National Museum a wooden model for a stone figure by Adam Kraft.[16] The figure formerly was attributed to Tilmann Riemenschneider but has also been considered a school work of the master of the high altarpiece of St. Kilian's at Heilbronn. The figure is indeed close to Kraft's St. John in his early Schreyer-Landauer epitaph.

Visual discoveries among the illustrations in Schwemmer's book are the reproductions of two details from the relief on the Municipal Weighing House and the somewhat over-enlarged and yet very telling reproductions of the figures of a man and a woman, a flutist and a harpist, which crowned columns on a balustrade of the courtyard of the so-called "Historische Hof," the house of Hans Imhoff the Younger, a house which was totally destroyed in the last war and unfortunately not even sufficiently photographed in its amazing wealth of decorative details.

The exchange of the illustrations of the first and second of the seven stations of the Passion of Christ on confronting plates is a printer's *lapsus*. These seven stations Kraft created for the road to St. John's Cemetery, the *Crucifixion* following on a site which only in 1662 became part of the cemetery. This last great work of Kraft, completed in 1508, closes with a *Deposition* in the Holzschuher Chapel inside the cemetery. The fact that the sleeping soldiers are placed at the sides of the tomb in which Christ is laid may point to a reduction of the program—which could have called originally for a Deposition and Resurrection. Daun thought the soldiers "a curious riddle," being too small for the total group.[17] They may have been added to the *Deposition* because they were already executed by assistants at the time the plan for a Resurrection scene was abandoned. Adam Kraft's sudden death early in

7. *Die Nürnberger Pfarrkirchen Sankt Sebald und Sankt Lorenz*, Berlin, 1939, pp. 31f.

8. *Op.cit.*, p. 139.

9. This Madonna with the escutcheon of the Tetzel family at the base is illustrated in H. Höhn, *Nürnberger gotischer Plastik*, Nuremberg, 1922, pl. 86, with a false attribution to Veit Stoss.

10. Wanderer's thorough work, *Adam Kraft und seine Schule*, published trilingually with German, French, and English text and title pages (its English title *Adam Kraft and his School 1490-1507, Being a Collection of his Sculptures Still Extant in Nuremberg and its Vicinity*), Nuremberg, 1869, is an indication of the early international fame of Kraft's work.

11. It had been mentioned in connection with Kraft by Wilhelm Lübke, *Geschichte der Plastik von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1880, II, p. 729; Bode, *op.cit.*, p. 139; and Berthold Daun, *Adam Krafft und die Künstler seiner Zeit*, Berlin, 1897, p. 95. It is illustrated in Höhn, *op.cit.*, p. 110.

12. *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, L, 1929, pp. 167ff.

13. Hans R. Weihrauch, *Die Bildwerke in Bronze und in anderen Metallen* (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum Katalog, XIII, 3), Munich, 1956.

14. *Op.cit.*, pp. 48f.

15. *Op.cit.*, pp. 76f.

16. *Mittelalterliche Plastik im Germanischen Nationalmuseum zu Nürnberg*, Munich, 1922, p. 28 and pls. 72f.

17. *Op.cit.*, p. 83.

January, 1509 (in Schwabach, where he had gone in December as a consultant) could have resulted in the decision to abandon further work.

Helpful in Schwemmer's book is the clarification of Kraft's role in the construction of the Choir of St. Michael over the porch of Our Lady's Chapel at the Nuremberg market square. Kraft was the master and designer of this building ("der Meister und Angeber des Gebäus"). This documentary proof of Kraft's employment as a "Werkmeister" agrees with Schwemmer's assumption, already discussed, that Kraft had the full "Bauhütten" training that made him versed in architectural design and sculptural work alike.

The problem of Kraft's school is not discussed at all, except for a paragraph on tabernacles dependent on the tabernacle in S. Lorenz in Nuremberg, of which the ones at Kalchreuth (1498) and Schwabach (1505) are reproduced.[18] Identification of former apprentices and assistants is no easy task, but in one case it has recently been convincingly argued by Karl Sitzmann that the Bamberg sculptor Hans Nussbaum received his training as a sculptor in Kraft's Nuremberg workshop.[19] Nussbaum had double training in stone and wood carving, and evidently served, in addition to his apprenticeship with Kraft, another apprenticeship with a wood carver. Nussbaum was a sculptor assistant in Wohlgemut's workshop before he moved to Bamberg, where he became the most important master of this city.

Schwemmer's book was written as a memorial volume at the approach of the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Adam Kraft's death, offering a survey of Kraft's life and work in text and plates on the basis of all known source material. This aim has been successfully met, although it seems regrettable that neither footnotes nor documents have been added to give the scholarly basis of Schwemmer's sound conclusions.

For the future there is still wanted a *catalogue raisonnée* of Kraft's work planned on such a scale that all the source material is not only made use of but published in full. Such a publication should also include photographs that show the works in their earlier condition. This is particularly desirable in the case of the stations of the Passion of Christ. These are presented in the Germanic National Museum and reproduced in Schwemmer's book without their original frames. These frames, however, are important for the total aesthetic effect. These reliefs are also stripped down today of any later restorations, although these reflected the original condition of the works. Inclusion of all pertinent photographs is equally desirable in the case of the destroyed houses of which the courtyards were decorated by Kraft, even though photographic evidence would be restricted, on the basis of available photographs, more or less to the total settings. Aside from such a comprehensive publication, still wanted, there existed also an urgent need for a more popular condensed book on Kraft. Schwemmer's book, with its terse introduction to the master's life and its concise and reliable survey of his major works, fills this need.

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GEORGES MARLIER, *Ambrosius Benson et la peinture à Bruges au temps de Charles-Quint*, Damme, Éditions du Musée van Maerlant, 1957. Pp. 343; LXXX pls.; color frontispiece. 525 Belgian francs.

One may wonder what justification there is for the publication of a monograph on a painter who never rose above mediocrity and who contributed little or nothing to the mainstream of Western art—in this case Flemish painting of the sixteenth century. The question is in fact posed by the author himself in a sensible preface. The artist, Ambrosius Benson, was virtually the only Italian painter to emigrate to Flanders at this period; and he proves to be a great disappointment. It is futile to speculate whether Benson's art would have been any better if he had elected to remain in Lombardy; or if, more to the point, instead of settling as a young Master in Bruges in 1519, where he found lucrative commissions from Spanish patrons until his death in 1550, Benson had decided along with so many other foreigners to ply his trade in the hectic, rough-and-tumble artistic atmosphere of Antwerp. We must judge in any event the distinctive style that he did develop. It was essentially a rather unimaginative reflection of that Master who held spellbinding sway over the artists in Bruges in the first half of the sixteenth century, Gerard David, whose masterfully poetic style marked the absolute end of an era. Those who were mesmerized by it could only toy with a dead issue; and no one in Bruges escaped—not even Ambrosius Benson. This monograph is justifiable, if only to reinforce this point for us today.

There exists a rather regrettably large number of paintings of a Bensonian character in museums, in private collections, and in the hands of dealers, throughout Europe and the United States. For the most part these are in the latter two categories, along with countless other sixteenth century Flemish pictures both good and bad, which the museum market is very slowly absorbing. The author of this very substantial monograph is to be thanked for having performed the task of defining the style of the Benson pictures and of tracing their last known location. A great many "floaters" will come to light now as a result of this book. Marlier has reproduced a large percentage of the oeuvre, including, one assumes, all or almost all of the best ones. There are eighty clearly printed plates, many containing two to four pictures each.

18. On the Kalchreuth tabernacle a special study by F. T. Schulz is available in *Fränkische Heimat*, III, 1924, pp. 141ff., not listed in Schwemmer's bibliography.

19. Cf. Karl Sitzmann, "Hans Nussbaum," *Jahrbuch des historischen Vereins Bamberg für 1950*, Bamberg, 1951, pp. 279ff.

Apart from the reproductions, the catalogue is the most valuable part of the book. It numbers more than 274 paintings, including altar groups. M. Marlier (author of *Erasme et la peinture flamande de son temps*, an exciting book notwithstanding the fact that the author makes a number of dubious attributions) has divided the catalogue into several sections: 151 pictures he attributed to Benson himself, with or without workshop assistance; 21 he finds to be "Bensonian"; in 24 he finds the style indecisively "relève à la fois de Benson et d'Isenbrandt"; 45 pictures "erroneously" attributed to Benson, 6 to his son Guillaume (whose work the author groups about a monogrammed painting he discovered in the Buckingham Palace collection), 4 to his grandson Ambrosius the Younger; a group of 29 paintings he unhelpfully but candidly catalogued as "tableaux que l'auteur n'a pu examiner." That Marlier has been able not only to discover but to see at first hand so many of Benson's pictures is remarkable and praiseworthy. Every serious student of the period will find fault with some of his attributions, but no one can argue the fact that Marlier has performed a commendable task.

Among the attributed works, he arranges the catalogue more or less according to the system to which M. J. Friedlaender has accustomed us: triptychs and retable fragments (14 items), sacred themes (34), images of Christ (5), Madonna and Child (24), Holy Family (3), Prophets and Sibyls (9), Saints (22, seventeen of which depict Benson's and evidently Bruges' favorite theme, Mary Magdalen), "History" paintings (4), "Assemblées galantes" (11), and portraits (28). This quantitative enumeration of Benson's themes is a significant indication of the interests and hence pictorial demands of the time, and the author's vast knowledge of the period is quite effectively brought to bear on this matter throughout the book.

Benson monogrammed two pictures, and these have provided the basis for further attributions. One of these two is a "Holy Family," formerly in the Germanic Museum in Nuremberg and now at Wildenstein's in New York. Dated 1527, this picture is more or less remotely related to a painting in the style of Andrea del Sarto, which was sold at auction in New York City in 1943; and the author at the outset of the book demonstrates the keenness of his imagination when he hypothesizes that Benson could have come North in 1518 with del Sarto when the latter was called to the court of Francis I. There is no proof. Also, Marlier would like to have the major works of Benson, which have survived in Spain, actually painted in Segovia, where the artist, in the absence of documentation of his presence in Bruges, could have worked between 1532-1536. The author acknowledges and agrees reluctantly

with the negative findings of the most recent student of the problem, E. Haverkamp Begemann.

Marlier is perhaps too charitable when he calls it a paradox that an Italian like Benson was the champion in Bruges of the archaistic revival of interest in the "old Flemish masters" during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. We wonder if this does not bespeak quite simply the limited imagination and power of invention of this artist. Metsys and Gossart, after all, were able to look both backward and forward, as well as to the South.

The documents are relatively plentiful, and the author assesses them with care and intelligence. They tell of court trials, of Benson's high positions in the painter's guild, of illegitimate children, and of the artist's working relationship with Gerard David. No document refers to a painting that may be identified today; but we learn such interesting things as the fact that in 1532 Benson bought a house with garden from a Spaniard in Bruges, in part payment for which eight Benson paintings were worth half the value of the house. (But how big was the house?)

Thorough account has been taken of all the significant literature, scant though it be; and the author goes briefly into most of the outstanding Bruges-Antwerp-Brussels problems that remain to be finally resolved, e.g., the identities of the Master of the Embroidered Foliage and the Master of the Female Half-lengths.

Marlier states that Ambrosius Benson's major objective was to raise "le style des anciens Flamands au niveau d'un art véritablement classique à force de sobre équilibre et de symétrie." Our own opinion is that Benson fell somewhat short of this objective; but at least now a comprehensive study of his work is available so that the student can decide for himself.

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HANNO HAHN, *Die frühe Kirchenbaukunst der Zisterzienser: Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte von Kloster Eberbach im Rheingau und ihren europäischen Analogien im 12. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurter Forschungen zur Architekturgeschichte, 1). Berlin, Verlag Gebrüder Mann, 1957. Pp. 378; plans; 122 figs. DM 48.00.

Since the publication of the second edition of M. Aubert's two-volume work, *L'Architecture cistercienne en France* (1947), which was followed by M. A. Dimier's fundamental *Recueil des plans d'églises cisterciennes* (1949), we have had a flood of monographs and theoretical studies dealing with Cistercian architecture.[1] The interest in the subject became universal

1. *Articles*: K. H. Esser, "Ueber den Kirchenbau des Heiligen Bernhard von Clairvaux: Eine kunstwissenschaftliche Untersuchung auf Grund der Ausgrabung der romanischen Abteikirche Himmerod," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 5, 1953, pp. 195-222. K. H. Esser, "Les fouilles de l'église romane de l'abbaye cistercienne d'Himmerod," *Mémorial du voyage en Rhénanie de la soc. nat. des antiquaires de France*, Paris, 1953, pp. 171-174. L. Fraccaro, "Per una breve revisione dell' architettura cisterciense Italiana," *Mélanges St. Bernard*, Dijon, 1954, pp. 316-324. H. v. Beuer,

through the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of St. Bernard's death in 1953 and was apparent in the mediaeval sessions of the International Congress of the History of Art in Paris in 1958, where a fourth of the architectural papers dealt with Cistercian art.

Among the newest publications on Bernardine architecture Hahn's far-reaching discussion is the most ambitious. One might say that his volume contains four not quite fully realized books in one, dealing with: (1) The church of Eberbach; (2) The Gothic vaulting techniques borrowed by the late twelfth and early thirteenth century architects of the order, and their influence on outlying areas; (3) The early Cistercian churches influenced by Clairvaux; (4) The plan proportions of the European Cistercian oratories. Unfortunately these separate aspects are of such complexity that the book is very difficult to read. The analysis of its content must therefore be undertaken without following the sequence of chapters.

In his initial discussion of the bases for Cistercian building rules, Hahn hints at the possibility that the famous Apologia of St. Bernard, which is usually thought to have been aimed at Cluny, might in fact have been directed against some factions within the order itself, and might thus have served to delineate the Cistercian building program. The ever-present internal resistance against architectural purism becomes evident in the steady flow of often-repeated laws. In some cases rebels had to be subjugated through the actual destruction of parts of their monastic establishments, which they had dared to erect against St. Bernard's ideals of true humility. This theory would have the further advantage of pacifying the twentieth century friends of Cluniac architecture. One wishes that in this connection the growing influence of Clairvaux had been analyzed. It expresses itself in the little known rephrasing of the original Charta Caritatis Prior. (Discovered by J. Turk, it was last discussed by K. Spahr.)[2] In contrast to this first constitution, which provided for a more centralized government of the order, the Charta Posterior (as it is now called) provided for the rule through the four earliest foundations and thus gave the abbot of Clairvaux the power that he otherwise might never have yielded. If this change of

policy was due to St. Bernard himself we shall certainly never know it.

The monograph on Eberbach, which grew out of Hahn's dissertation,[3] underplays the history of the monastery, which had been explored by F. Otto, J. Bär, K. Rossel, and W. Sauer. The monumental complex itself, located in the diocese of Mainz, was discussed by C. Schäfer and F. Kutsch and has been put into a more general context by H. P. Eydoux (1952) and I. Trowe-Bickel (1956).[4]

However, Hahn was able to clarify some of the more obscure points within the building's history and to establish Eberbach once and for all as a kind of successful and immensely impressive pastiche between the first Cistercian style and its subsequent adoption of more advanced vaulting techniques after the death of the abbot of Clairvaux in 1153.

Founded by Archbishop Adalbert of Mainz in 1116 to house a turbulent Augustine community, Eberbach was taken over in 1131 by Benedictines. The short duration of this second settlement makes Hahn's arguments that the church had already been planned or even begun on its existing scale appear doubtful. In 1135 the abbey was adopted by the Cistercian order and became a daughter monastery of Clairvaux. One remembers that in the same year St. Bernard began the construction of his own "oratory." Against previously held opinions Hahn proves that the construction of Eberbach must have been well advanced by the middle of the century. He also proves conclusively that a barrel vault of the Fontenay type was planned. But the schism which, as M. Preiss has shown,[5] affected the Cistercians particularly, prevented any further building activity. At one point Abbot Eberhard was forced to flee to Rome, where he and his retinue lodged in the Cistercian monastery of Tre Fontane, a fact which Hahn has not exploited sufficiently. For Eberhard was able to see the monumental abbey church, which was then in construction and which had probably already been provided with groin vaults over the side aisles. The planned stone vault over the nave was later discarded in favor of a wooden roof.

Around 1170 the work at Eberbach was resumed. A double change of plan occurred: the church was

"Evolution du Plan des églises cisterciennes en France, dans les pays germaniques et en Grande-Bretagne," Cîteaux in de Nederlanden, VIII, 1957, Westmalle, Belgium. M. A. Dimier, "Origine des déambulatoires à chapelles rayonnantes non saillantes," Bulletin Monumental, CXV, 1957, pp. 23-33.

Books: H. P. Eydoux, L'église abbatiale de Morimond, Rome, 1958. F. Bucher, Notre-Dame de Bonmont and the earliest Cistercian abbeys of Switzerland, Bern, 1957. I. Trowe-Bickel, Die Bedeutung der süddeutschen Zisterzienserbauten, Munich, 1956. R. Schnyder, Die Baukeramik und der mittelalterliche Backsteinbau des Zisterzienserklosters St. Urban, Bern, 1958. Artur de Gusmao, A expansao da arquitectura borgonhesa e os mosteiros de cister em Portugal, Lisbon, 1956. C. W. Clasen, Die Zisterzienserabtei Maulbronn im 12. Jahrhundert und der bernhardische Klosterplan, Kiel, 1956. Marijan Zadnikar, Romanska Stična, Ljubljana, 1957.

For a discussion of most of these publications see J. A. Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth, "Zisterzienser Romanik; Kritische

Gedanken zur jüngsten Literatur," Formositas Romanica, Basel, 1958, pp. 153-180.

The recent book of F. Cali with photographs of southern French monasteries was prefaced by Le Corbusier, which seems to point toward an affinity between the milites christi of the twelfth and the austere world of the twentieth century homo faber in which, according to Mies van der Rohe's maxim, "Less is more."

2. J. Turk, "Cistercii statuta antiquissima," Analecta S. Ordinis Cisterciensis, IV, 1948, p. 160 and K. Spahr, "Die Anfänge von Cîteaux," Internationaler Bernhard Kongress, Mainz 1953, Wiesbaden, 1955, pp. 215-244.

3. Nassauische Annalen, 64, 1953.

4. See note 1.

5. M. Preiss, Die politische Tätigkeit und Stellung der Cistercienser im Schisma von 1159-1177, Berlin, 1934, pp. 101, 113, 173.

lengthened by five meters and a clerestory introduced under the monumental, slightly domical groin vaults. In 1178 the choir was finished; in 1186 the whole church was consecrated. The chevet of the church was laid out according to standard Cistercian procedure. Three rectangular eastern chapels each flank the rectilinear apse. The nave, however, with its five-and-a-half bays forms a rather strange solution for a structure that still adheres to the Romanesque square schematism. A satisfactory explanation for this oddity, which results in half a groin vault rising towards the western wall, might be found in Hahn's laws of Cistercian proportions or perhaps in the fact that the ground farther west is unsuitable for building because of a brook. The originally planned elevation resembled Fontenay. The barrel vault should have gone through to the presbytery wall, and the transept was planned lower than the nave. After the heightening of the nave vaults the transept was also brought up to nave height, with the effect that the unchanged entrances to the earlier eastern chapels appeared now as strange minor openings. On the exterior the situation was remedied through the addition of a second story above the chapels, a solution adopted by a series of monasteries, as for instance Fontenay, Noirlac, Acey. It is interesting to note the not infrequent occurrence of the main portal opening not into the nave but into the second side aisle south. The finished church, which is certainly one of the most impressive Cistercian structures in existence, still remains untouched in its bulk. It is over 80 meters long and almost 17 meters high.

The second part of Hahn's book is dedicated to a thorough search for Cistercian churches showing an early plan above which a secondary vaulting system has been introduced. He first analyzes Burgundian architecture in general terms and then loses himself in an extensive study of almost all the early Cistercian churches in existence, many of which have little in common with the specific problems encountered at Eberbach. If the Portuguese examples that Artur de Gusmao published in 1956 had been included in his second chapter of 173 pages, the chapter in itself would have become a separate entity, and as such an even more valuable contribution to our knowledge of the more important examples of European Cistercian architecture.

In his introduction to the second part Hahn characterizes the Cistercian elevation as a reduction of existing Burgundian vaulting schemes. The longitudinal barrel over the nave, the transverse barrel vaults over the side aisles, the devaluation of the crossing and material precision, had all been developed in Romanesque Burgundy. The square chevet solution, of course, is not specifically Burgundian. One would also have wished for a more extensive analysis of the one-story elevation, for which Hahn might have found more satisfactory answers.

It is of importance to note that Hahn with Aubert,

Dimier, and the reviewer, accepts a "Fontenay type" solution for Clairvaux. An additional proof for this theory is found in the Swiss group. Bonmont, the eighth foundation of Clairvaux and probably the first preserved example of the standardized Cistercian oratory, follows the plan of its mother church. The influence of Clairvaux is so strong that it is still followed by the archaizing church of Hauterive, whose plan, contrary to Hahn's statement, underwent at least one major change.

The analysis of the Italian group, which is plagued by a general redating of monuments, proves highly interesting. Hahn finds, in accordance with R. Wagner-Rieger, whose book on Italian architecture was recently published,[6] that the influence of Cistercian rib-vaulting in Italy is generally overrated, since most of the early churches of the order were completed in the late years of the twelfth or even in the following century. But L. Fraccaro contradicts these statements to some extent. In her article on San Benedetto and the first Cistercian rib vaulting in Italy[7] and in a subsequent article,[8] she stresses the important influences of a purely French vaulting system but also the fact that French architects were imported for the erection of several Cistercian oratories. I think that a compromise solution would solve the problem, giving the autochtone and the Cistercian solution an equal share in the thirteenth century development of Italian Gothic. Two further points deserve mention. Hahn sees similarities between Fossanova and Eberbach as it was planned originally. He secondly integrates the interesting "dark nave" oratory of Santa Maria in Paludibus on Sardinia, a ruin discovered by Delogù, into a European context. One would have wished more attention focused on Casamari and the strange San Nicola in Agrigento, which is more closely related to a temple cella than to a Burgundian chapel.

The history of the order in its Spanish dominion is made more complex by the decision of the general chapter of 1152 to forbid the foundation of new monasteries or the incorporation of already existing ones. This law seems to have been short-lived, for Poblet was begun around the middle and Santes Creus in the following decade of the twelfth century. Both monasteries, which are of the highest interest in themselves and also because they introduced the rib vault system in Catalonia, possess engaged shafts leading up to the *doubleaux* of the vault, which are similar to the ones used in Eberbach.

For England and Ireland Hahn reminds us again of the Burgundian influence, which, however, seems not to have spread to the vaulting systems (often wood) nor to the choir solutions, which are sometimes of the highest originality, as for instance in Mellifont (Ireland) where square and semicircular eastern chapels are used interchangeably. As with the Italian churches Hahn suggests a readjustment of dates within the rib vaulted Scandinavian oratories to the thirteenth century.

6. R. Wagner-Rieger, *Die italienische Baukunst zu Beginn der Gotik*, 2 vol., Graz-Cologne, 1956-1957.

7. *Palladio*, II-III, April, Sept. 1953.

8. *Mélanges Saint Bernard*, Dijon, 1954.

The conclusions of the second chapter precede the discussion of the German monasteries. Ebrach, Maulbronn, and the daughter foundations of Eberbach, namely Schönau, Otterberg, Arnsburg, Bebenhausen, and Disibodenberg, are thoroughly analyzed. Himmerod—recently excavated by K. H. Esser and H. P. Eydoux—was begun by St. Bernard's personal emissary and architect Achard in 1138 and consecrated in 1178. It is given due attention in terms of its proportions. However, the reviewer cannot agree with Hahn's conclusion that, owing to a wall thickness of "only" 85 cm, the structure was not vaulted. This dimension would certainly allow for a vault, since an exact knowledge of wall buttressing existed and the church was planned by a Burgundian expert. It is interesting to note that *none* of the still existing German examples was completed according to the original intentions, and that therefore many of their characteristics belong to a later Cistercian tradition.

The results of the second chapter reaffirm categorically the importance of Burgundy and of Clairvaux as the guiding lights for early Cistercian architects. Dimier, Esser, the reviewer, and implicitly even Aubert have accepted and stressed this fact. It is difficult to understand why several French scholars have still been reluctant to accept the almost complete historical and architectural evidence pointing toward the central position of Clairvaux. In all the countries discussed, there exists according to Hahn not a single example of a monumental Cistercian church that before St. Bernard's death and the subsequent transformation of Clairvaux in 1153 would have been begun without Burgundian barrel vaults. Furthermore, a clear separation and differentiation of the heights of the eastern parts is a constant factor (*Höhenstaffelung*). Including of course the standardized plan, these are the main characteristics of the Clairvaux-Fontenay type. They were only later given up in favor of more complex vaulting techniques. One should add here the devaluation of the crossing, which became a standard practice in most twelfth century Cistercian churches. Contrary to Hahn, the reviewer feels that some English abbeys, which must have been planned for wooden ceilings from the very beginning, must be excepted. The importance of the first Clairvaux type is further enhanced by the fact that its plan and elevation continued to exist as an often strange archaism into the fifteenth century.

This impressive and almost independent battery of material leads Hahn to reconstruct Eberbach I in a third voluminous chapter. He proves that its vaulting—begun around 1145 then remodeled after 1170—represents the first (?) German attempt at a fully vaulted monastic church. His conclusions, most of which are mentioned at the beginning of this review, are something of an anticlimax since they only demonstrate that Eberbach was planned in analogy to what I have called the Bernardine standardized type, which exists

9. O. von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, New York, 1956.

on varied scales. The plan, however, seems to adhere to given proportions.

In what is the most original part of his book, namely an appendix on proportions (25 pp.), Hahn establishes the following laws:

LAW I: Width of nave and side aisles (M 1) equals the added length of crossing and presbytery.

LAW I A: M 1 equals also the width of the crossing including one transept arm, that is three-quarters of the transept.

LAW II: Width of transept (M 2) equals chevet length to the East measured from the center of the crossing.

LAW II A: M 2 equals half the length of the transept from the center of the crossing north or south.

LAW III: The proportions established by M 1 and M 2 always result in the numerical proportion of 3:4. The 3:4 proportion, the importance of which von Simson has again stressed,[9] is often found in the Cistercian narthex. In addition four times M 2 will frequently define the length of the nave measured from the eastern end of the transept.

These laws work especially well for the chevets of 156 Cistercian churches. However, most of the plans on which they were applied are inadequate or regularized. The margin of error, which in every case is characterized in words, must therefore be increased. But it is obvious that these proportions were roughly used on many Cistercian oratories. It is possible that they were discussed at the meetings of the general chapter and then, as Hahn suggests, "kept in mind." On the other hand I feel that the simplicity of the Cistercian ground plan allows for a great number of obvious proportional relationships that might have stemmed from purely practical working rules found also outside the order. The only proportion that I have been able to connect with St. Bernard's Neoplatonic interests is the square formed by the height of the nave and the total width of the nave and side aisles together, which occurs in a number of churches. But it is still possible that even this proportion was chosen only for its practicality and the neutral effect it eventually produced when the building was completed.

It is regrettable that Hahn has not explored his proportional system for the elevation also, and that the possible philosophical and even theological implications of his laws are not discussed more fully. A synthesis of the impressive accumulated data in general is lacking. It could have led Hahn to a new interpretation of St. Bernard's not yet fully explored aesthetic theories, and its effects on the early Gothic style. If one patiently unravels the intermingling threads of Hahn's research, a great wealth of rewarding details emerges that will have an enduring effect on the scholarship dealing with the beginnings of the Gothic development in Europe.

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Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturen-Sammlung, *Deutsche Bildwerke aus Sieben Jahrhunderten*, Berlin, 1958. DM 10.00.

Today East and West divide the art treasures of the former State Museums of Berlin—those that have not been lost or destroyed, as, for instance, many of the works deposited in the Bunker Friedrichshain, which was destroyed by fire after the end of World War II when it was under the surveillance of the Russians.[1] The distribution of these treasures between East and West was purely fortuitous, depending on where the works chanced to be during the war and were found at the end of the war. Of German sculpture the Museum at Berlin-Dahlem in the American sector of Berlin acquired a collection of prime importance. The Bode Museum, as the former Kaiser Friedrich Museum on the museum island in the Russian Sector of Berlin is now called, acquired a collection more restricted but in its finest works the equal in quality of the sculptures in the Berlin-Dahlem Museum. However, with the return in 1958 of many of the art treasures taken to the Soviet Union, the balance between the two collections may change considerably.[2]

The Bode Museum's sculpture collection (as it appeared before the art works returned in 1958 were added[3]) contained a number of works of prime importance. To list just a few: the 13th century crucifix from Naumburg (to which belongs a figure of Mary that has found its way into the Berlin-Dahlem Museum); the 13th century altarpiece from the Cathedral at Minden; the early Gothic stone figures from a Treves portal; the small Dangolsheim *Saint* from Strasbourg; the Swabian *Madonna* with the bottle; the *Ölberg* by the Master of Rabenden; works by Anton Pilgram, Tilmann Riemenschneider (by whom Berlin-Dahlem has another even bigger group), Permoser, and Egell.

A small catalogue and guide for the Museum's collection of painting and sculpture written by Dr. Ursel Schönrock and Dr. Hans-Werner Grohn and published in 1953[4] is now out of print. It is indeed gratifying that its section on German sculpture has now been replaced by a full-fledged catalogue, listing 128 numbers, or a total of 144 sculptures on display.

Theodor Demmler in his monumental catalogue of 1930 of large sculpture in wood, stone, and terra cotta in the "Deutsches Museum" listed 752 pieces.[5] Only

94 of these are found in the new catalogue. If one terra cotta listed in Bange's catalogue of small sculpture, and three wall brackets, listed only in the older catalogue of the collection by Voege of 1910,[6] are added, the carry-over from the old stock of the Berlin Museums comes to 98 pieces. Yet since the foreword states that the permanently exhibited pieces are catalogued primarily and that the collection has about 650 pieces altogether, the serious losses that the collection suffered during and just after World War II may not be quite so appalling as may appear from the statistical comparison between the numbers of pieces covered in the new catalogue and in the Demmler catalogue of 1930. As we learned from Dr. Ursel Schönrock Grohn,[7] a catalogue of the part of the German sculpture collection presently in storage was planned for 1958, but has now been postponed, since the most pressing task to be accomplished is a catalogue of the Italian sculpture collection, which in 1958 regained an especially large number of pieces thought lost.[8]

Of the 46 pieces in the new catalogue of the German sculpture collections that do not appear in the catalogues by Demmler and Bange, 42 prove to be old stock too. Only four pieces are post-World War II acquisitions. Although many of the 42 pieces remaining are of the kind usually collected by arts and crafts museums, like the pieces of architectural sculpture, the baptismal fonts, the memorial shields, the cast-iron chimney reliefs, and similar items, these pieces are not transfers from the Kunstgewerbemuseum but were acquired in Bode's time to enliven the display in the galleries.

From the Kunstgewerbemuseum comes only Egell's Mannheim altarpiece, already transferred in 1930 to the collection of sculpture, and a pair of 18th century Baroque angels from Landshut, transferred in 1950. Only six pieces were acquired after the Demmler catalogue had gone into print, among them sculptures by Hans Krumper and Anton Pilgram. A few others were acquired as a result of the ravages of World War II, such as five sculptures by Schlüter that come from the destroyed Villa Kamecke.

Only one loan is admitted to the catalogue, the *Hercules* by Permoser lent by the City of Schwerin.

There remains the pitifully small number of permanent acquisitions made after World War II. It includes one late Gothic group of Mary and Joseph from a *Nativity* by Peter Breuer, formerly in the famous

1. For the losses of the Berlin museums cf. the reports by Hans Huth in the ART BULLETIN, XXXVI, 1954, pp. 310-318. Contrary to previous information, a considerable number of the art works stored in the Bunker Friedrichshain were saved. Cf. the catalogue: *Schätze der Weltkultur von der Sowjetunion gerettet*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (National-Galerie, Pergamon-Museum), 1958.

2. Cf. the catalogue cited in note 1.

3. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. D1-43, listing 43 pieces from the 14th through the 18th centuries in the section "German Sculpture."

4. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Skulpturenabteilung Gemäldegalerie*, Berlin, 1953. Cf. also Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturen-Sammlung Bildheft, Berlin, 1956, contain-

ing 39 illustrations of the collection of German sculpture with a brief introduction by Heino Maedebach.

5. Cf. Theodor Demmler, *Die Bildwerke in Holz, Stein und Ton: Grossplastik* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Die Bildwerke des Deutschen Museums, III), Berlin and Leipzig, 1930.

6. Wilhelm Vöge, *Die Deutschen Bildwerke und die der anderen cisalpinen Länder* (Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen, zweite Auflage, IV), Berlin, 1910.

7. Letter of December 31, 1958. We should like to thank her as well as Dr. Maedebach for information.

8. Cf. the catalogue cited in note 1, nos. D44-123, listing 80 Italian sculptures.

Bollert collection, acquired in 1951, and three Baroque sculptures. These are *Mary as Queen of Heaven* from the Zürn workshop about 1530, acquired in 1956; a South German *Maria Immaculata* of the later 18th century, acquired in 1953; and an 18th century *God the Father* fragment, acquired as a gift in 1955.

Of course, the main task in these years after World War II was rebuilding the physical plant and restoring the works as they went on display, all of which has been done excellently, as this reviewer could observe on visits to the Bode Museum in 1956. The former Kaiser Friedrich Museum was a ruin after World War II. Yet the rooms that the collection of German sculpture has occupied since December 1953, enlarged early in 1956 through the addition of one big gallery, are still insufficient; and hope is expressed in the foreword of the catalogue that ultimately the collection will return to the Deutsche Museum, after it has been restored.

The catalogue, carefully prepared under the direction of Dr. Heino Maedebach, who as I just learned is no longer employed by the Bode Museum, does not intend to replace the earlier catalogues of Voege and Demmler, which are still indispensable for scholarly study. The necessity of producing a catalogue that would be helpful also to the lay public led to elaboration on iconographic meanings, addition of a glossary of the kind found in college primers, and more compact bibliographies giving only key titles and reducing the listing of exhibition catalogues to the period after 1945. Descriptions of the coloring of painted sculpture are unusually complete, and extensive use has been made of the restoration reports of the last years.

The attempt to digest the literature of the last 30 years in order to bring the art historical evaluation up to date has succeeded, as far as this reviewer can judge, although each scholarly user of the catalogue may find in his field points to improve on.

9. Cf. notes 5 and 6. The catalogue of 1958 cited in note 1 follows the "Pan-Germanic" precedent of the catalogue reviewed here by listing under the heading "German Sculpture" not only sculpture from all countries and regions where

For instance, stating that Breuer *probably* touched Würzburg in his journeyman years is hardly correct, since we have documentary proof that he engaged in work in a Würzburg guild shop. This is evident from his artisan's oath before the two mayors of the city.

In connection with the Riemenschneider crucifix from Aschaffenberg, which was acquired as a gift from Baron Karl von der Heydt (not Heyd), the attendant figures of John and Mary are discussed without any reference to the fact that the figure of John in the Aschaffenburg Museum is considered a 19th century fraud, probably substituted by Halbig for the lost original. In the discussion of the figure of a St. Sebastian by a pupil of Riemenschneider there is cited the similar figure of a Sebastian in the altarpiece at Gerolsheim, which should be, of course, Gerolzhofen.

The catalogue does not contain German sculpture only, as the title would indicate. Since all pieces on display are covered, some Austrian, Swiss, and even Netherlandish and French pieces are mixed in. (Vöge's title precisely stated the inclusion of such pieces, but Demmler's title moved in the direction of the present confusion.[9])

In regard to the illustrations it should be noted that the previously published picture book of the collection—which does not duplicate the 96 illustrations of the present volume—was printed without such somewhat arbitrary manipulation of the photographs, with backgrounds frequently blocked out in black or white, as this volume shows.

But these are flaws which do not matter much in an otherwise most carefully composed, and on the whole highly accurate, volume that serves well its difficult purpose of offering useful information to both scholar and layman.

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German is spoken but also French and Netherlandish sculpture, including such masters as François Duquesnoy, Guillaume Coustou, Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, and Jean Antoine Houdon.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

AGGHÁZY, MARIA, *Alte Holzfiguren in Ungarn*, Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1958. Pp. 44; 23 pls.; 65 color pls. $16.00.

ARCHER, MILDRED, *Tippoo's Tiger*, New York, British Information Services, 1959. Pp. 29; 4 figs.; 22 pls. $1.43.

BOLOGNA, FERDINANDO, *Roviale Spagnuolo e la pittura napoletana del cinquecento*, Naples, Editioni scientifiche italiane, n.d. Pp. 98; 113 pls. 4500 lire.

CONANT, KENNETH JOHN, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800-1200*, Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1959. Pp. 343; 80 figs.; 176 pls. $12.50. (Pelican History of Art)

DEÉR, JOSEF, *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily*, Locust Valley, N.Y., J. J. Augustin, 1959. Pp. 188; 220 figs. $8.00. (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, V)

FELDER, PETER, *Die Hofkirche St. Leodegar und St. Mauritius in Luzern*, Basel, Birkhäuser Verlag, 1958. Pp. 113; 37 pls. 12.50 Swiss francs.

FERNAU, JOACHIM, *The Praeger Encyclopedia of Old Masters*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1959. Pp. 334; 230 color figs. $6.75.

GELDER, J. G. VAN, *Dutch Drawings and Prints*, New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1959. Pp. 54; 224 pls. $12.50.

GORI-MONTANELLI, LORENZO, *Architettura e paesaggio nella pittura toscana*, Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 1959. Pp. 240; 26 pls. 2000 lire.

GULIK, R. H. VAN, *Chinese Pictorial Art*, Rome, Istituto italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1958. Pp. 575; 160 pls.; 42 paper samples. 21,000 lire. (Serie orientale Roma, XIX)

MAC DONALD, MALCOLM, *Angkor*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1959. Pp. 158; 112 figs.; map. $8.50.

MERCHANT, W. MOELWYN, *Shakespeare and the Artist*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1959. Pp. 254; 56 figs.; 88 pls. $16.80.

Museum of Modern Art, *The New American Painting*, introduction by Alfred H. Barr, Jr., New York, 1959. Pp. 96; 71 pls.; 16 color pls. $2.95.

OMAN, CHARLES, *The Gloucester Candlestick*, New York, British Information Services, 1958. Pp. 12; 6 figs.; 30 pls. $1.88.

READ, HERBERT, *The Meaning of Art*, Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1959. Pp. 197; 64 pls. $1.25.

ROEBUCK, CARL, *Ionian Trade and Colonization*, New York, Archaeological Institute of America, 1959. Pp. 148; 4 maps. $7.50. (Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts sponsored by the Archaeological Institute and the College Art Association of America, IX)

SAVAGE, GEORGE, *Pottery Through the Ages*, Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1959. Pp. 247; 13 figs.; 64 pls. $1.75.

SULLIVAN, MICHAEL, *Chinese Art in the XX Century*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1959. Pp. 110; 64 pls.; 4 color pls. $10.00.

SWEENEY, JOHN A. H., *The Grandeur of the Appoquinimink: the House of William Corbit at Odessa, Delaware*, New York, University Publishers, 1959. Pp. 146; 35 figs. $6.00.

VÖGE, WILHELM, *Bildhauer des Mittelalters: Gesammelte Studien*, with foreword by Erwin Panofsky, Berlin, Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1958. Pp. 256; 128 figs. DM 28.00.

WEITZMANN, KURT, *Ancient Book Illumination*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1959. Pp. 166; 136 figs. $9.00. (Martin Classical Lectures, XVI)

Worcester Art Museum, *The Dial and the Dial Collection*, Worcester, 1959. Pp. 110; 40 pls. 1 color pl.